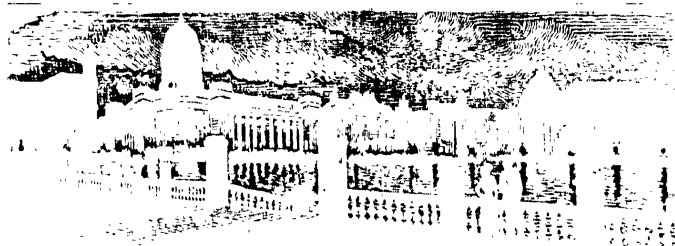
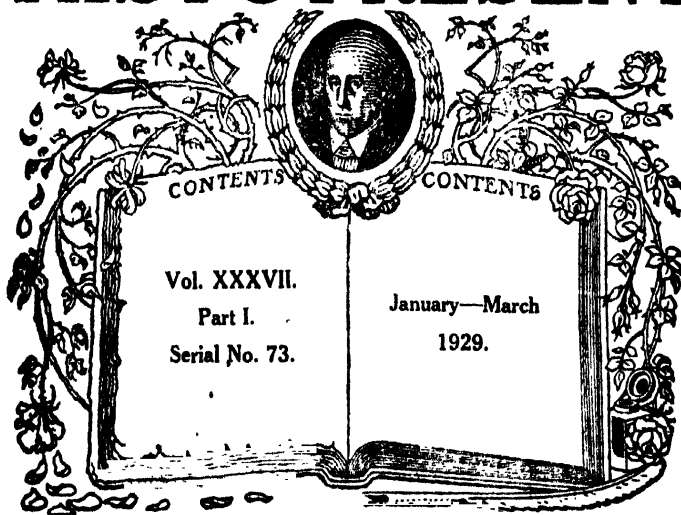


BENGAL PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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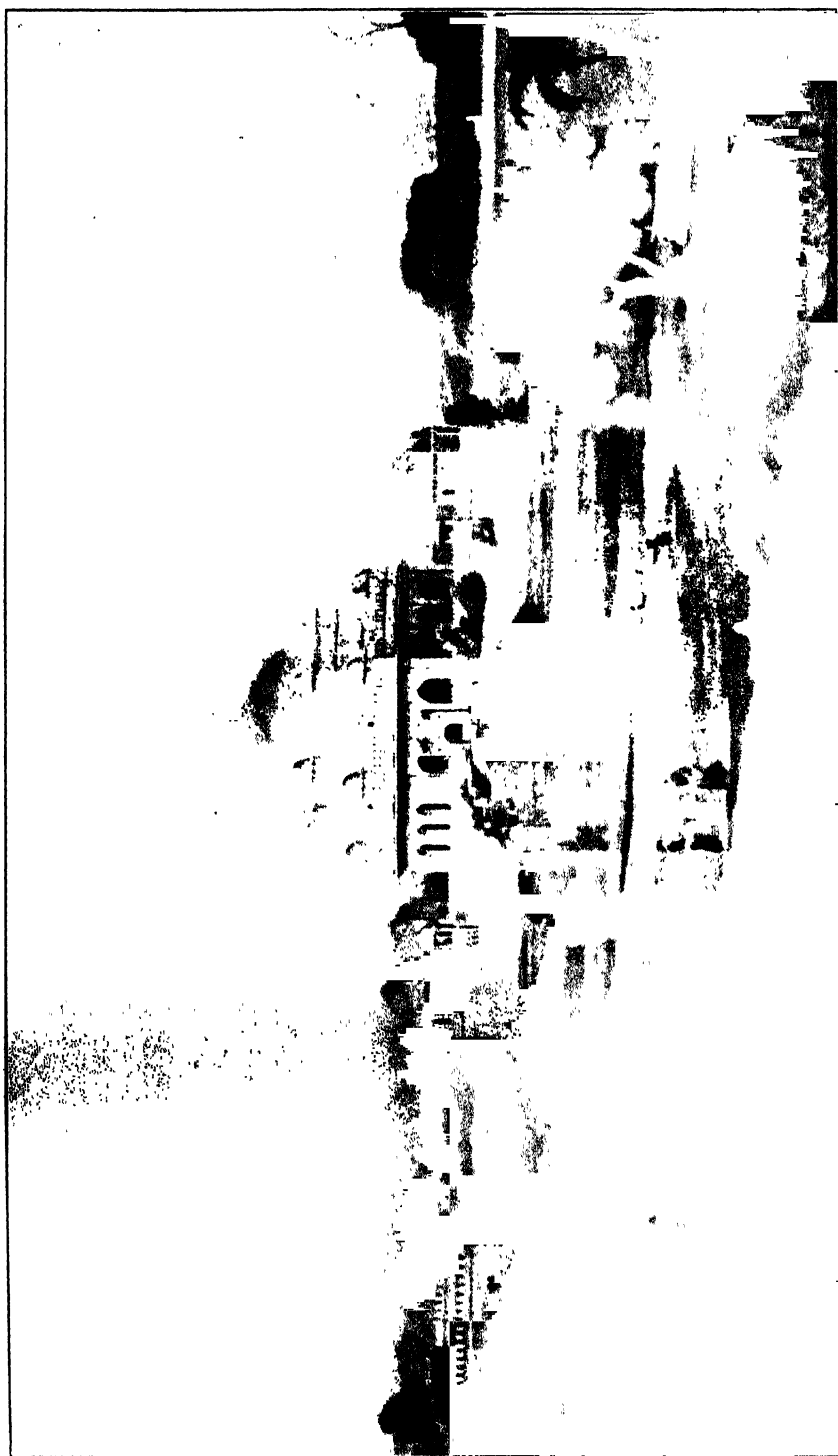
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* These papers were read at the Eleventh Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Nagpur, 1928.



THE MAUSOLEUM OF SHER SHAH AT SASARAM.

Painted by Thomas Daniell in 1810 and Exhibited at the Royal Academy in that year. Photographed by Major T. Sutton from the Picture in the Hampden Turner Collection, now in the possession of the Maharajahdhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan.

The Daniells in India.

THE recent purchase by the Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan of twenty-three hitherto unrecorded oil paintings of Indian scenery by Thomas Daniell, R.A., from the collection of the late Mr. Charles Hampden Turner and his presentation of two of the finest to the Victoria Memorial Hall should revive interest in the travels of this artist and his nephew William in India from 1785 to 1795. As the number of *Bengal: Past & Present* (Vol. XXV, Part I, January-March, 1923) in which I recorded such information as I then possessed, is out of print and difficult to procure, I propose (in anticipation of a book which I am preparing in conjunction with Major Thomas Sutton) briefly to summarize its contents and to add such details as have come subsequently to my knowledge from official records and other sources.

Sir William Foster has ascertained (1) from the Court Minutes of the East India Company that on December 1, 1784, permission was given to Thomas Daniell "to proceed to Bengal to follow his profession of an engraver": that on the 10th of the same month his request to be allowed to take his nephew with him "as his assistant" was granted: and finally that on February 23, 1785, Robert Smirke of Upper Charlotte Street, Rathbone Place, and Edmund Hague of Queen Anne Street East were approved as his securities. In what ship did they sail? According to the letter press in the *Oriental Annual* of 1834 which is obviously based upon notes supplied by William Daniell the passage was made to Madras in the *Atlas* Indiaman. This is corroborated by an entry in the list of residents in Bengal which is given in the *East India Kalendar* for 1791. Both Thomas and William Daniell are described therein as engravers and are stated to have come out in the *Atlas* in 1786. Now the *Atlas* Indiaman (763 tons) sailed from the Downs on April 7, 1785, under the command of Captain Allen Cooper, but she was bound, not for Madras or Bengal, but for China. Her log for that voyage contains no list of passengers, and it cannot be said definitely that the Daniells were on board. But no other voyage of the *Atlas* will fit in with the dates which are fixed by the Court Minutes. The previous voyage was made, it is true, to the "Coast and Bay," but it was begun from Portsmouth on March 11, 1783; and a subsequent voyage to Bengal and back took place in 1787-1788, when we know that Thomas Daniell was in Calcutta and engaged in the publication of his twelve views. There seems little doubt that Daniell and his nephew went out to Canton in the first instance and that the sketches which they then made were afterwards utilized for *A Picturesque Voyage to India by the Way to China* (1810)—a title which

(1) *Bengal: Past & Present*: Vol. XXIX, p. 5.

tells its own tale. The *Atlas* arrived at Whampoa on August 23, 1785, and sailed for England direct in January 1786. The Daniells must therefore have come from Canton to Bengal in a country ship: and we may assume that they reached Calcutta in the autumn of 1785 or the spring of 1786.

The Twelve Views of Calcutta, which were published in aquatint between the years 1786 and 1788 are the earliest works of Thomas Daniell in India. Three of these are dated 1786, four are of 1787 and the remaining five of 1788. In a letter written to Ozias Humphry on November 7, 1788, and preserved in the Library of the Royal Academy, he writes (2):

The Lord be praised. At length I have completed my 12 views of Calcutta. The fatigue I have experienced in this undertaking has almost worn me out. [I] am advised to make a trip up the country with flattering assurances that my health would be improved by it. I am now very near Patna in a good strong roomy Pinnace where I can paint or draw quite comfortably. . . By Mr. Begby of the William Pitt Indiaman I send you the Calcutta views which you promised to do me the honour of accepting. It will appear a very poor performance in your land, I fear. You must look upon it as a *Bengalee* work. You know I was obliged to stand Painter, Engraver, Copper Smith, Printer and printers Devil myself. [It] was a devilish undertaking, but I was determined to get through it at all events.

Particulars of this "trip up the country" are to be found in a letter written by William Daniel to his mother from "Baghullpoor" on June 30, 1790, and in another letter in the Humphry Correspondence which has only very lately come to my notice. The former letter was copied in pencil in to a note book by Joseph Farington, R.A., the diarist, and a transcription which I was permitted to make by the courtesy of the Editor of the *Morning Post*, was published in *Bengal: Past & Present* in 1923 (Vol. XXV. pp. 13-17). The second letter was written to Humphry from "Futty Ghur" on August 1, 1789, by Captain Jonathan Wood: and from it we obtained the names of those in whose company the Daniells visited Agra, Delhi and Muttra. The party which included the veteran General John Carnac and Colonel Horton Brisco was escorted by two companies of Sepoys and a small body of horse: William Daniell tells his mother that it was composed of 15 Europeans "whose attendants and camp followers amounted to near 3,000." At Agra they met with Major William Palmer, who was then Resident with Madhoji Rao Scindia, and who accompanied them to Muttra, where Scindia was in camp. "Mr. Daniell from recollection only made a portrait of him which was thought like": This picture has not been traced except in the form of an engraving by William Daniell which is reproduced in the

(2) The whole of this letter together with other "Letters from Bengal" to Humphry, will be found in Vol. XXXV, Part II, of *Bengal: Past & Present* (April-June 1928). Ozias Humphry arrived at Calcutta in the *Francis* Indiaman in August 1785 and sailed from Kedgerie for Europe in the *Earl of Oxford* on March 14, 1787.

Oriental Annual for 1834 (3). The story there related is as follows: "Mr. Daniell shortly after his arrival in India, and not long before the death of the old warrior, had the honour of an interview during which he was also honoured with an oriental embrace; availing himself of the opportunity he made an admirable likeness of this remarkable man." From Muttra the party proceeded to Delhi, "when Palmer and Brisco paid their obeisance to Shaw Alum attended with the customary presents on these occasions; this amounted to some 30,000 rupees." The sketches made at Agra, Sikandra, Fatehpur Sikri and Delhi, were all incorporated later on in *Oriental Scenery*. The next halting place after Delhi was Anupshahr: and from here Thomas Daniell and his nephew set off with another party "consisting of 5 or 6 gentlemen with a proper escort" and visited Hardwar. Here two only of Daniell's companions went with them into Garhwal: one of these we know from Vol. XI of *Asiatick Researches* (Hindoostanee Press, Calcutta 1810: p. 435) to have been Captain John Guthrie who described himself in his will as "a Peer of the Mogul Empire" and who died at Fatehgarh in 1803 of wounds received in an unsuccessful attack on Thathia Fort. From Srinagar in Garhwal, the Daniells according to Capt. Wood, visited "Rampour and Phillibeat and returned to Futty Ghur by way of Bareilly." Their arrival at Fatehgarh is announced in the *Calcutta Gazette* of July 9, 1789, which publishes an "extract from a letter from Futty Ghur, June 8"; and from an album of sketches which is preserved at the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta, we are able to obtain ample evidence of the leisurely manner in which they travelled from place to place in Rohilkhand. From Fatehgarh Captain Wood tells us that they set out for Lucknow: and were proposing to return to the Presidency by way of Fyzabad, Benares, Chunar, Bidzyghur (Bijaigarh) and Rhotasgarh. To these places, which all find a niche in *Oriental Scenery*, must be added Jaunpur; unlike the modern traveller, the Daniells were greatly attracted by the magnificent Shargi mosques: and also Gaya and Sasaram. The return to the Presidency was not, however, made all at once. William Daniell's letter to his mother, while giving no hint of future movements leaves him and his uncle at Bhagalpur on June 30, 1790. Here they "resided twelve months in the same House with" Samuel Davis, as related in the *Farington Diary* (entry of February 12, 1806). Davis, who was himself an accomplished artist, had been appointed by Hastings to a writership in 1783, on his return from Turner's mission to Bhutan (4) and was "Assistant to the Collector and Register to the Court of Adawlut, Boglepore" from 1785 to 1792. In May 1793, he was at Burdwan as Collector; and

(3) The portrait of Madhoji Rao Scindia, which is in the Town Hall at Bombay, is by James Wales, who died at Thana in 1795. The picture which Sir James Mackintosh saw at Poona in 1805 and which he attributed to Zoffany, is believed to be the one now at Gwalior which is evidently an adaptation by an Indian artist of the painting by Wales. Madhoji died suddenly in 1794 at Wanouri near Poona.

(4) The Bhutan illustrations in Turner's "Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet" (published in 1800) are by Davis. The original drawings, nineteen in number, are now at the Victoria Memorial Hall, together with many of his water colour sketches of other places.

there married Henrietta Boileau. Two years later, in July 1795, he was appointed Judge and Magistrate of Benares, and gallantly defended the narrow stairways of his residence, Nandeswar House, with a running footman's pike, when it was attacked after the murder of George Frederick Cherry, the Resident (5) on January 4, 1799, by the followers of Wazir Ali. Thereafter he was transferred to Calcutta where he became Accountant General, and after his retirement from India in 1806, was a Director of the Company from 1810 until his death in 1819 (6).

When the Daniells eventually returned to Calcutta they did remain very long. The six aquatints of Calcutta in the second series of *Oriental Scenery* are dated 1792: but they must be referred to the early part of that year for it is stated distinctly in the letter press that the views of Trichinopoly, Madura and Tanjore, which are in the same series were "taken" in June, July and September, 1792, and that the six Madras views were made in 1793. In the fourth series we have a further seven views of scenes in the Madras Presidency which were taken in July and August 1792. From a letter in the Humphry Correspondence, which was written to Ozias Humphry from Calcutta on November 23, 1793, by William Baillie (himself the author of twelve views of Calcutta, a plan of the city and views of Gaur) we learn that:

Mr. Thomas Daniell after a three years excursion in which he went up to Sirinagar in the Bootan (sic) hills and visited Delhi Agra etc. returned to Calcutta 20 months ago [i.e. in the spring of 1792] with a collection of about 150 pictures which he set on foot a Lottery for. It has not quite filled, however; those that fell to himself as prizes he carried to Madras where he disposed of them and some others. He made an excursion thro' the Mysore country etc. and came back, no doubt, with a vast collection. I need not say how correct and elegant. From Madras I understand he was to cross over to the Malabar Coast on to Bombay and from that home by way of Egypt or Bussara.

These intentions were only partially carried out. The sketches of Muscat which are published in the *Oriental Annual* for 1836 and which form the subject of several pictures exhibited at the Royal Academy by both the uncle and the nephew, show clearly enough that they reached that place. But in the summer of 1793 they hurried back to Bombay with the first official news of the outbreak of war with France. The date is fixed by the following entry in the Bombay Proceedings of January 13, 1794 (I. O. 218-223: Call. No 12).

(5) Another artist civilian. He was Lord Cornwallis' Persian Secretary at one time and when on a mission to Seringapatam in 1792, painted portraits of Tipu Sultan of which one is at the India Office and another in the Duke of Wellington's collection at Apsley House.

(6) The famous pike was kept in a corner of the drawing room of the house in Portland Place where his widow resided after his death. Montstuart Elphinstone who was a young assistant at Benares in 1799, used to come at least once a year to "do poojah" to it; and my uncle the late Mr. J. S. Cotton (born 1848) used to relate that he was taken as a child on the same pilgrimage.

On 7 July last received packets from Resident and Factors at Bussorah by Major Macdonald in *Cornwall* Ketch from Muscat containing duplicate of Court's command dated February 7 and 9, which gave us the first official accounts of the war with France. Resident and Factors sent the packet to the broker at Muscat with orders to offer Rs. 10,000 to any one who would carry it to Bombay. The original letter they sent by *Laurel* to Bombay where it arrived July 23.

The Bombay Council paid the ten thousand rupees to Major Macdonald and Rs. 25,000 to the owners of the *Laurel*: and these allowances were approved in a despatch of April 28, 1795 from the Court. The connecting link with the Daniells is supplied by a passage in the Court Minutes of March 6, 1799.

The request of Mr. Thos. Daniell for a copy of the resolution of the Bombay Government authorizing the payment of 10,000 rupees for a service performed by him jointly with Major Forbes Ross Macdonald in carrying from Muskat to Bombay in June 1793 a packet which proved to contain advice of the war with France, and which sum was received by Major Macdonald who has never paid Mr. Daniell any part thereof: Being read; Referred to the Committee of Correspondence.

There is no report from the Committee on the Minutes, but on March 13, 1799, the desired extract from the Bombay Proceedings is sent to Daniell with a formal note in the third person (7). As no further entry can be traced in the Court Minutes up to April 1801, it is to be presumed that the Directors heard nothing more of the matter.

While at Bombay the Daniells collaborated with James Wales in making the sketches of "Hindoo Excavations in the Mountains of Ellora near Aurangabad in the Deccan" which were subsequently published in 1804 as the fifth series of *Oriental Scenery*. In the sixth series which was published in 1799 there are six sketches of "excavations on the island of Salsette and Elephanta"; and in the letter press to No. 7 which represents "The entrance to the Elephanta cave," the following definite statement is made: "According to the measurement of Mr. William Daniell, the author's nephew, who accompanied him on all his excursions in India, its dimensions are 130 feet in length, 110 in breadth and 16 in height."

The Daniells would appear to have sailed from Bombay some time in the year 1794. Their names cannot be traced in any of the logs of the homeward bound Indiamen of that season: but some light is thrown upon the circumstances of their voyage by a little quarto book in a yellow wrapper, which has been discovered in the Brighton Public Library. It is entitled "Sketches of a Voyage by W. Daniell, R.A.," and the first sketch

(7) I am indebted to Sir William Foster for calling my attention to these papers. Daniell's letter which is dated January 22, 1799, is among the records at the India Office (Misc. Lets. Recd. Vol. 100).

which is of "A Sixty Four" is signed "W. D. Lion Hill, 3 July 1794." Lion Hill is the well known mountain at the Cape of Good Hope, and there can be little doubt that this sketch and the next one, "Spanish East Indiamen (Spaniard Lat. 18.18, long. 32.12, W.)" were drawn on the voyage to Europe. It can be ascertained from Aeneas Anderson's Narrative of the British Embassy to China (1795) that Lord Macartney, who sailed in H. M. S. *Lion*, was accompanied on his way home from Macao by thirteen East Indiamen and three foreign vessels. The *King Charles*, a Spaniard, the *Bom Jesus*, Portugese and the *General Washington* American. The fleet anchored at St. Helena on June 19, 1794, and sailed on July 1.

In any case, the Daniells had certainly returned to London by the autumn of 1794. Ozias Humphry, in a letter written to Baillie in Calcutta in October 1794 reports their arrival and the first series of their monumental work—the beautiful aquatints of *Oriental Scenery*—was published in London on March 1, 1795.

Five other series followed, each containing twenty four views: and nothing can better illustrate the wide range of their travels in India than a recapitulation of the contents.

Although the first series was published in March, it was not until October 22, 1795, that the *Calcutta Gazette* printed "Proposals for publishing the following twenty four views in Hindoostan from the drawings of Thomas Daniell and engraved by himself." The places depicted are Delhi, Brindaban (Muttra), Agra, Patna, Benares, Chunar, Gaur, Rhotasgarh, Moneah (Maner) on the river Son near Patna, Gaya, Agouree (Agori Khas), which lies about fifteen miles to the westward of the fortress of Bijaigarh, and Currah (Kara) near Allahabad which was once of sufficient importance to give its name, with another forgotten town, Corah (Kora) in the Fatehpur district, to the provinces of "Corah and Currah." The views are said to have been taken in the years 1789 and 1790." The advertisement proceeds: "If subscribed for and delivered in India, the price for the 24 views will be 200 sicca rupees Half the subscription is to be paid upon delivery of the first twelve views which will certainly be sent out to India by the earliest ships of the season 1796." The second series "drawn by Thomas Daniell and engraved by him and William Daniell" was published in London in August, 1797. There are six views of Calcutta (1792), four of Trichinopoly (June 1792), six of Madura (July 1792), two of Tanjore (September, 1792) and six of Madras (1793).

The next series in chronological order of publication, is the sixth which bears the imprint "London, October 15, 1799," and is styled "Antiquities of India." Twelve (sic) views from the drawings of Thomas Daniell, R.A. and F.S.A., engraved by himself and William Daniell. Taken in the year 1790 and 1793." The sketches are, in fact, twenty four in number and are of a miscellaneous character, beginning with the seven Pagodas at Mauvelepore (Mamallapuram or Mahabalipuram) and the temples on the island of Salsette. Other sketches represent a temple at Deo in Bihar, the Elephant cave, the Fakir's Rock in the Ganges near Sultanganj, Chainpur in

Bihar, an antique reservoir near Colar (Kolar) in Mysore, a temple near Madanpur (80 miles S. W. from Patna), a temple near Bangalore, Raja Jai Singh's observatory at Delhi, the ruins of Gaur, and the Kutab Minar at Delhi.

The third series "drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell" was published in London in June 1801. It contains sketches taken at Currah (Kara), Rhotasgarh, Fyzabad, Allahabad, Lucknow, Delhi, Kanauj, Jaunpur, Pilibhit, Gaya, Ramnagar (opposite Benares), Muttra, Chunar, and Rajmahal. Some of them are specifically stated to have been drawn in 1790. Sandwiched in between them are views of Tipu's "hill forts in the Baramahal" in the Mysore country.

The fifth series was published in London on June 1, 1804, and is inscribed: "Hindoo Excavations in the Mountains of Ellora near Aurangabad in the Deccan. Engraved from the drawings of James Wales by and under the direction of Thomas Daniell."

It is dedicated to Sir Charles Warre Malet, Bart., late the British Resident at Poona, who married the daughter of Wales.

The fourth series, "Twenty-Four Landscapes-Views in Hindoostan, drawn and engraved by Thomas and William Daniell"; was published in London in May 1807. It is in this volume that the twelve Garhwal sketches are to be found. There is a direct reference to them in the introduction but the concluding sentence is misleading: "the drawings," it is said, "from which these views are engraved were taken in the months of July and August 1792": but the Daniells were then in South India, and the year should be 1789. Seven of the other sketches relate to the Madras Presidency: of No. 6, a scene "near Attoor in the Dindigul district," we are assured that the place is inhabited by "a class of creatures whose shaggy forms and ferocious aspect appear sufficient to strike terror in the hearts even of lions and tigers." The other five sketches represent a view near Bandel, showing a Sati memorial: Sakrigali on the Ganges: Ramgur (or Rampur) in the district of Benares: Dhuah Koondee, a cataract in the neighbourhood of Sassaram: and Kanauj.

An even greater variety of subjects is exhibited in the engravings by William Daniell which are to be found in the *Oriental Annual* for 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837 and 1838. These include Gingee, the Mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram, Calcutta from the Garden Reach, the Harbour of Muscat, the Forts of Jellali and Marani at Muscat, a view on the Baliapatam river (Coorg), a scene near the coast of Malabar, Bombay, a Bore rushing up the Hugli, the setting in of the Monsoon at Madras, and a number of views of Bhutan. As to the last it is stated that the views are taken from sketches made by the late Mr. Samuel Davis "who visited Boutan in 1783." There are also portraits of Mahdaji Scindia, the Queen of Candy, the Emperors Akbar and Humayun, a Malabar Hindu, and "a Female Peasant of Ceylon."

Election as an Associate of the Royal Academy came to Thomas Daniell in 1796, and he was advanced to full Academical honours in 1799. His

diploma picture represents "Hindu Temples at Bindrabund," and a reproduction of it in aquatint figures as sketch No. 2 in the first series of *Oriental Scenery*. His output of Indian pictures was enormous: and his market never seemed to fail him; for he ceased to paint in 1828, and lived in retirement until his death in 1840 at the patriarchal age of ninety-one. William Daniell, who was elected a Royal Academician in 1823 and died in 1837, was equally prolific. The list of the Academy exhibits of uncle and nephew fills many pages in Algernon Grave's compilation: and yet the appearance of an oil painting by either of the Daniells in a London sale-room is the rarest possible occurrence. The largest collections are at the Victoria Memorial Hall and in the possession of the Maharaja of Burdwan.

The merits of *Oriental Scenery* are fully recognized to-day: and Farington shows by the following entry in his Diary that contemporary appreciation was not wanting: "April 19, 1804.—Smirke [R.A.] informed me that Daniell has had an order from abroad for 18 sets of his India Views, which would amount to above £2,000." The copy in the Royal Academy Library was purchased on August 1, 1805 by unanimous vote, on the proposition of Farington himself. When Claude Martin's effects were advertised for sale in the *Calcutta Gazette* during 1801, they were stated to include "a complete set of Daniell's views in India." Robert Pott, the "Bob Pott" of Hickeys Memoirs, and Peter Speke, who was a member of the Bengal Council from 1787 to 1801 and "spent forty years at the Presidency" were among his many Anglo-Indian patrons.

As aquatints, the views in *Oriental Scenery* cannot be surpassed: and as an instance of Daniell's accuracy in delineation, it may be mentioned that when the Temple in the Fort of Rhotas was restored under the orders of the Government of Bengal, Daniell's view of it was used as a model. So true is it that history is as much made up of pictures and engravings as it is of documents.

A glowing tribute to the work of Daniell was paid in an extract from the *Calcutta Monthly Magazine* which was quoted in W. Thacker and Co.'s Monthly Overland Circular for August 20, 1846 (8), when offering a "superb copy" of *Oriental Scenery* for sale at Rs. 1,000:

The execution of these drawings is indeed masterly; there is every reason to confide in the fidelity of the representations; and the effect produced by this rich and splendid display of oriental scenery is truly striking. In looking at it, one may almost feel the warmth of an Indian sky, the water seems to be in actual motion and the animals, trees and plants are studies for the naturalist.

The praise is not too high. The student of eighteenth century India owes a great debt to Thomas and William Daniell.

EVAN COTTON.

(8) I am indebted to Mr. C. A. Hooper of Messrs. Thacker, Sprink & Co., for a sight of this interesting volume.

The Dalhousie-Phayre Correspondence, 1852-1856.

IN April 1852 a British army landed at the Burmese port of Rangoon, and there began the second of the series of three Anglo-Burmese wars which together added to the Indian Empire its largest, and certainly its unique, province. The first war, ending with the treaty of Yandabo in 1826, had resulted in the Kingdom of Ava losing to Great Britain the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim—nearly all its sea frontage. The second war, which lasted only a few months, gave the British the Burmese province of Pegu—once a Talaing kingdom—and a strip of territory to the north of it extending to just beyond the towns of Myede and Toungoo. This new acquisition, called at the outset the 'Province of Pegu,' although it stretched far beyond the limits of the Burmese province of that name, received as its first administrator Captain Arthur Phayre. This officer, the future historian of Burma (1), was selected by Lord Dalhousie with unerring judgment against the claims of a much senior officer to be the first Commissioner of Pegu. He arrived at Rangoon in December, 1852, before the war had officially ended, and so was entrusted, as Governor-General's Agent, with the task of carrying through the negotiations for peace with the Burmese Government. Phayre was of not undistinguished parentage. His father had spent his active career in India. His mother was a daughter of the well-known publisher Ridgeway, a woman of great talents, we are told (2), "who instilled into the minds of her children a strong devotion to duty and religion." He was forty years old at the time of his appointment, and had already seen much administrative service in Burma, where he had acquired an intimate knowledge of the language and national character as marked him for high preferment.

It was Dalhousie's custom to keep in very close touch with his immediate subordinates; this was all the more necessary in Phayre's case because of the difficult and protracted negotiations for a peace treaty with the Burmese Government which continued until almost the end of Dalhousie's term of office in India. "I hope to hear from you regularly and confidentially," he wrote to the new Commissioner in one of his earliest letters (3). "You will find such correspondence a material aid to you; and I beg you to state your views and wishes to me at all times unreservedly." Phayre availed himself

(1) His *History of Burma*, a work of great merit, published in 1883 was for many years the standard work in English on this subject. It is now out of print and practically unobtainable.

(2) Sir William Lee-Warner: *Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie*, II, p. 7.

(3) Dated Calcutta, 8th December, 1852.

of this invitation to the full. The words with which he concluded his lengthy reply to this letter sounded the keynote of the correspondence that was to follow. "I trust this letter will not have been too tedious, but I shall continue to write of everything which I consider worthy of your Lordship's notice" (4). So there grew up between them what Lord Dalhousie termed a 'private' correspondence, but what would nowadays be more correctly designated 'demi-official,' maintained with great regularity until the Governor-General's departure from India in 1856. Much of it is of the nature of a personal explanation of items in the official correspondence passing between the two. There is a good deal of free expression of opinion such as would not find its way into official correspondence. These letters therefore are of especial interest in giving us an unobstructed view of the personality and policy of Lord Dalhousie, and they shed valuable light upon the relations between him as Governor-General and the administrator of a new province: a subject of no little importance to the study of modern Indian administrative history.

Lord Dalhousie's letter to Phayre form a series eighty-two in number, the originals of which are now in the possession of the University of Rangoon. They were purchased together with Phayre's two-volume journal covering the years 1852-1859 from Messrs. Heffer of Cambridge. Previously they belonged to the late Sir George Forrest, who published articles containing extracts from them in the *Athenaeum*, 23rd November, 1895 and 15th February, 1896. He had bought the collection from a second-hand book-seller on the Quay at Dublin, who in turn had purchased it at an auction some years before (5)—presumably an auction of Phayre's effects after his death, but I have not yet been able to verify this.

Phayre's replies to Lord Dalhousie are in the famous collection of the latter's private papers, which he arranged and indexed personally before his death, and which is still a family possession. It will be remembered that in a codicil to his will he forbade the publication of any of his private papers until fifty years after his death. That period terminated eighteen years ago. So by kind permission of the present Earl of Dalhousie the History department of the University of Rangoon has been able to have Phayre's letters in this collection copied—the work has been done by Miss Anstey at the India Office (6)—and now we are in a position to publish the whole Dalhousie-Phayre correspondence, so soon as the work of editing has been completed (7).

One extremely interesting feature of Phayre's letters is that enclosed with them is a series of letters received by him from a Scottish merchant,

(4) Dated Rangoon, 25th December, 1852.

(5) I am indebted to Sir William Foster of the India Office for this information.

(6) This was arranged through the courtesy of Sir William Foster and Mr. Ottewill.

(7) The correspondence and journal were made use of by Sir William Lee-Warner in writing, Chapter I of Volume II of his life of Lord Dalhousie. But considerations of space and proportion rendered it impossible for him to do much more than indicate the richness of the soil that he scratched.

Thomas Spears by name who from December, 1853 onwards for several years was "Government Correspondent at the Court of Ava." Spears and a number of other British merchants at Amarapoora had been imprisoned and their property confiscated by Pagan Min, King of Burma, during the Second Burmese War. When early in 1853 the greedy and tyrannous Pagan was deposed by his half-brother Mindon Min, a man of high character, well-disposed towards the British, Spears and his compatriots were released, and Spears himself was soon in high favour at the Burmese Court. He became a sort of confidential adviser to Mindon Min, who was anxious to use him as a go-between in his dealings with the British.

Spears came to the notice of Phayre during the first negotiations for a treaty with Mindon Min that broke down before the middle of 1853 owing to the latter's refusal to sign a document ceding Burmese territory to a foreign power. Then, when the Burmese government withheld his confiscated property, and Spears went to Calcutta to lay his case before the Governor-General, Mindon Min made use of him to propose a quixotic plan for the solution of the treaty difficulty. It amounted to this, that the King of Burma was to agree to pay to the British within a fixed period an indemnity so enormous as to be entirely beyond his capacity to pay. If the sum were not paid within the specified time, the territory occupied by the British was to be forfeited to them. "The object as hinted or avowed in this extraordinary proposal," reported Phayre to his Chief (8), "was for the King to save his honour and to show that he had done his best to avert the disgrace of separating Pegu from the Burmese Empire."

Although Phayre considered the proposals ludicrous, he was so much impressed with the probity and good sense of Spears, when he met him on his way to Calcutta, that he recommended to Lord Dalhousie his appointment as British correspondent at the Burmese Capital. Dalhousie had indeed urged Phayre to seek for some reliable source of information, whence he could obtain "speedy, good and regular intelligence" of affairs at Amarapoora (9). This had become essential because of the anomalous situation that had arisen between the British and the Burmese government after the breakdown of negotiation, when neither side knew what move the other would make next, and all sorts of alarmist rumours were in the air. On the other hand he at first opposed the appointment of Spears in this capacity, fearing that as a British subject he "would be liable to outrage," and so might "involve this government in responsibilities" (10).

No other suitable man could be found. For a time an Armenian named Jacob was tried, but a letter of his, the composition and spelling of which were alike a triumph (11), forwarded to the Governor-General, elicited from him the laconic reply: "I hope his intelligence is more correct than

(8) Phayre to Dalhousie, July 21st 1853. In his reply, dated August 1st, 1853, Dalhousie dismissed it as 'nonsense'.

(9) Dalhousie to Phayre, June, 9th, 1853.

(10) Same to same, August, 1st, 1853.

(11) Enclosure of letter of Phayre to Dalhousie, October 28th, 1853.

his spelling or we shall not have a good bargain. I will see Mr. Spears again " (12). So in the end Spears was appointed. The position was an unofficial one, but he was paid a regular salary of Rs. 250 a month with the promise that if his work were satisfactory, he would be awarded at the end of each year of service a lump sum bringing his monthly salary for that year up to Rs. 400. (13).

Spears amply justified his appointment. He retained the full confidence of Mindon Min, whom he immediately made aware of his new position and its duties. In fact the King heartily acquiesced in the arrangement. "He has given me full liberty to write anything I like and to whom I like," wrote Spears to Phayre. (14). The only difficulties that arose due to Mindon Min's inability to realise that Spears was not an official British representative through whom he could conduct his business with the Commissioner of Pegu or the Government of India. Apparently he discussed all matters of external policy privately with Spears before making any decision; and time and again he caused the canny Scot no little embarrassment by using him as a channel for expressing his opinions or making suggestions to the British authorities (15). This went so far that the Government of India deemed it advisable to remind Phayre that Spears must not be employed in any official matter to make representations to the Government of Ava or to act in any way apparently as an agent of the British government (16). The rigidity of this rule, however, was wisely tempered in practice, since any attempt strictly to enforce it might have alienated Mindon Min by causing him to jump to the conclusion that the British attitude was stiffening against him. As it was, Spears's presence at the Burmese Court resulted in the speedy building up of friendly relations between Mindon Min and the British. As early as March 1854, indeed, Dalhousie could write home flippantly of the new situation: "There is perfect quiescence. . . . Nay, the *entente cordiale* is becoming almost ludicrous " (17). And notwithstanding the failure of all Dalhousie's efforts to secure a treaty recognising the cession of Pegu, and of all Mindon's to persuade the British to show their regard for him by evacuating it, British relations with the Court of Ava were re-established in 1854 and the ensuing period upon a more friendly footing than ever before. No small credit is due to Thomas Spears that this condition of affairs withstood the successive shocks of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, when Mindon Min's advisers assured him that the British hold upon

(12) Dalhousie to Phayre, November 5th, 1853.

(13) Rangoon Secretariat File No. 6/1855.

(14) Examples of this are given in my article entitled "New Light upon British Relations with King Mindon" in the Journal of the Burma Research Society, Vol. XVIII, Part I, April, 1928.

(15) Rangoon Secretariat File, No. 6/1855, Letter of Cecil Beadon, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to Major A. P. Phayre, Commander of Pegu, dated Fort William, August 8th, 1855.

(16) J. G. A. Baird: Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie, p. 293.

(17) Two of the originals are in Rangoon Secretariat File No. 9/1854.

India was doomed, and European adventurers were urging him to make a bold bid for the recovery of the ancient heritage of his house.

From the foregoing account of Spears the inference will readily be drawn that the information purveyed by him was of first-class importance. The originals (18) or copies of all his letters were forwarded by Phayre to Lord Dalhousie as soon as they were received, and a regular system of despatch boats was established on the Irrawaddy—with the King's concurrence—for the better conduct of the correspondence. In March 1854 the Governor-General wrote home delightedly from Calcutta: "We have already so improved communications that our last letter from Umerpoora was only 19 days old" (19). He was equally delighted with the letters themselves. In the same month he wrote to Phayre: "I will come now to Mr. Spears' budget from 3rd February to 7th March. They are full of interest and importance. Their intelligence is in the highest degree satisfactory and encouraging, and we have apparently found a very safe and sensible and judicious correspondent" (20). This same praise he reiterates on several occasions in later letters. It is not surprising to find that at the end of each year of his employment Spears was adjudged worthy to receive the promised lump sum that raised his salary to Rs. 400 a month (21).

These three series of letters, together with Phayre's journal (22), afford us an absorbingly interesting picture not only of British relations with Mindon Min, but also of the way in which the foundations of modern British rule were laid in the new province of Pegu. Naturally the negotiations with the Court of Ava occupy a large place in the correspondence; but room is found for the discussion of other subjects. In their very first exchange of letters Lord Dalhousie and Phayre both devote their chief attention to the plans for laying out the city of Rangoon and for the development of its port. With almost prophetic insight into the future Lord Dalhousie writes in his clear incisive style: "One point at Rangoon is of moment the place will certainly gain importance as a port if at all. In that expectation it is of moment to provide that the river bank should be kept clear and with ample space for wharves, docks, godowns, etc., etc. Orders to that effect were issued originally. The impression I derived from a very cursory view of the bank when I was at Rangoon was that too little space had been reserved" (23). Measures for the provision of roads, riverine communications, the electric telegraph and a postal system are discussed in detail, and we witness the progress in the construction of these essential amenities of modern civilisation. Then there are such matters as the raising of a local corps, the establishment of a police force, operations against the notorious

(18) Baird, *op. cit.* p. 293.

(19) Dated Calcutta, March 29th, 1854.

(20) Rangoon Secretariat Files Nos. 6/1855, 18/1856, 11/1859 and 40/1860.

(21) This contains much interesting information sandwiched in between dull itineraries. It is the journal of a very busy man, who rarely had leisure to write up in it matters with which he had already dealt fully in his correspondence. So it has many tantalizing gaps.

(22) Dalhousie to Phayre, 8th December, 1852.

(23) Spears to Phayre, 7th March, 1854.

dacoit leaders, Myat Tun and Maung Gyi, the machinations of the mysterious French adventurer who styled himself 'General' D'Orgonix, and a host of other subjects too numerous to mention here.

We see the diplomatic Spears treading more delicately—and more successfully withal—than Agag, and the assiduous Phayre writing reports and suggesting ways and means. But the directing mind is that of Lord Dalhousie, with his amazingly clear grasp of each situation and his unhesitating choice of policy. His style is simple, direct and full of vitality. And sometimes there gleams the sparkle of a playful humour too rarely associated in our minds with the personality of the great proconsul. Let me close with a happy example of this. When in the early months of 1854 the Burmese were still haggling over the terms of the treaty that they never intended signing, Mindon Min brought up the fact that the new British boundary line passed through the district of Mindon, from which he derived his name. He begged that the boundary might be so adjusted as not to deprive him of any part of this district. In a private interview with Spears he said: "It is a district of little value and belonged personally to me when I was Prince, so I trust the English will not let so small a thing as that come between us. When I was a Prince, and now when I am a King, I have always been actuated by the most friendly spirit to the English, and it would be a poor return on their part if they would not give up so small a thing as that to oblige me" (24).

Dalhousie replied to this: "If the King thinks that 'so small a thing' as a township should not stand in the way of friendship between the states, he should not let 'so small a thing' as signing what he has already agreed to stand in the way of a permanent friendship between the states. If the King thinks that I should make this concession of Mengdon Myo to him, I have the right to expect that he should make the far smaller concession of saying in writing what he has said orally many time". . . . "Bear in mind," he concluded, "that for the King it is no song, no supper—no treaty, no Mengdon Myo."

D. G. E. HALL.

Acts of Pains and Penalties in the Past.

THE unfortunate case of Sir Thomas Turton having roused a certain amount of interest it may be pursued in its other phases that may possibly not lack in interest.

Sir Thomas was a Baronet which title he inherited from his brother. In ability and charm of manners he had few peers in his time.

As a practising Barrister of the Supreme Court his success was phenomenal and this is how Mr. William Ritchie, another legal luminary of a slightly later date and who subsequently rose to be the Advocate General and the Law Member, speaks of Sir Thomas Turton while he himself was still struggling as a junior . . . "By far the most brilliant man here is Turton, who luckily for the rest of us, has, for some months given up the Bar for the lucrative office of Registrar. He is really a man of commanding ability as well as a most agreeable companion."

It will be perceived that the objectionable but prevalent practice of backing relatives at the Bar by senior members was strongly condemned by Mr. William Ritchie by implications, though not in scathing terms. Discriminating attorneys did not fail to discover Mr. Ritchie's merits though he failed to secure Sir Thomas Turton's powerful backing. By dint of merit he rose to the surface very soon and occupied a highly honourable place in the profession.

The foundation of Sir Thomas Turton's undoing was easily laid by his accepting of the lucrative post of Ecclesiastical Registrar. He deserted his profession as he had deserted his wife and suffered condign punishment. In the previous article we saw how his misdoings though detected, could not be punished for a while but Damocles's sword which hung by a thin hair soon-found its mark. The commission that had been appointed by the Supreme Court to enquire into his conduct, though far too slow to suit Lord Dalhousie's vigour, ultimately reported and heavy defalcations were substantiated. The failure of the Union Bank and of the well known house of Palmer had hastened the catastrophe and Sir Thomas Turton was driven into insolvency. A ghastly state of affairs was disclosed, and the hand of law proved itself long enough, strong enough and willing enough. The high position of the culprit was no protection and Sir Thomas ultimately found his way to the Gaol where Lord Dalhousie's vigorous wrath and Mr. Drinkwater Bethune's ingenuity had failed to send and lodge him; and this was achieved in the usual process of ordinary law without the outside paraphernalia of a doubtful pains and penalties act.

Sir Lawrence Peel in delivering judgment in the insolvency proceedings said:—"I consider it is impossible for me, in my responsible position, to exercise that limits which my own feelings and my personal knowledge of the insolvent's misery would have induced me to prefer. It is indeed evident

from the open manner in which Sir Thomas Turton's accounts were kept, that he had entertained the design of replacing the monies he had removed, but these circumstances do not in any degree lessen the culpability of the transaction. It is as great a transgression for a person placed in a situation of fiduciary responsibility to expose the trusts in his hands to risk, as to abstract them, and I feel the demands of justice will not be satisfied unless I remand the insolvent for two years, or, in other words condemn him to two years imprisonment."

Sir Thomas found himself an inmate of the Calcutta jail but did not seem to have suffered much thereby. Contemporary records, for access to which I am indebted to Mr. Prionath Kor, late of the Bengal Secretariat: Ministerial Department, a diligent and careful preserver of reminiscences, (grandson of the late Babu Ramgopal Ghose) thus describe Sir Thomas Turton's comforts nay luxuries in jail: "Sir Thomas Turton was in Calcutta jail as a prisoner where he was comfortably accommodated in a house in the jail compound which he secured at a rent of one hundred rupees a month, commanding the view of the maidan. Here he received visits from his friends and calls from his clients in large number doing daily chamber business in cash payment. He had the advantage of enjoying the benefit of a clean extensive area and of a large terrace for exercise. He had also the advantage of enjoying the melodious sound of a beautiful piano to sooth his solitude.

"In jail he had few restrictions like other prisoners of his position. The only restriction that was imposed on him was that he could not have his ride in the evening on the strand or come out of the walls of the jail compound."

Dissipation in jail was fairly frequent in those spacious days as will be borne out by the following extracts from Mr. Moore's charming collection of papers in the Sheriff's office.

"The jail was merely a prison in the sense that they were confined to its spacious quarters and surroundings. Beyond this, they lived as they pleased, were waited upon by their own servants, had their food supplied by the local hotels and on occasions entertained their friends with the best wine and the best music that the city could afford. Those who had families were free to bring them to share their imprisonment. No restraint whatever was placed on a debtor's relatives or connections; they came and went as they pleased, and that nothing might be wanting to complete the entire freedom of the debtor, his mistress was as free to share his captivity and his love as the wife or the daughter of his neighbours. There was no pretence and no disguise about the matter; the thing was open and usual.

"I do not know if a man's domestic pets also followed him to the Hurrin Baree, but certainly his horse did, if its master so desired. The Sheriff "could see nothing opposed to the Jail rules," such as they were, in permitting Captain Stewart's pony being brought to him at the Jail, morning and evening, that the gallant Captain might take as much exercise as he deemed was necessary for the preservation of his health. Skipping ropes

"were also in evidence as a means by which the debtors might be kept healthy. Nor were they the whim of the debtors themselves. They were gravely prescribed by a doctor who rejoiced in the designation of a Presidency Surgeon. He was evidently a man ahead of his time.

"But the feature which is most in evidence throughout the whole Jail record is the eternal flow of brandy. One is apt to associate temperance of all kinds with prisoners today. But in 1800 the prison reformer was a person yet to be. Man relying on his instincts and experience only, as he had been doing for thousands of years, cherished the absurd delusion that brandy was something which was both good and necessary for his health and for his welfare. The chemist and the specialist had not yet shown him what dangers lurked within its deceitful brilliance, and so the European in India drank it with the old zest and carried his love for it to the Hurrin Barea. Here he might buy and drink it to the extent of his means and the capacity of his head and his stomach.

"Like the autocrat that he was, he ordered it with the munificence of a king and was pleased to see it stored in his room to sooth the hours of his mild captivity, not merely in bottles, but in cases. It has often been alleged, perhaps with some truth, that the action of alcohol on the human brain will at once differentiate the savage and the philosopher. On the former it will expose the wild beast that lurks within, in the latter it will bring to the surface those latent qualities of kindness and generosity which are the crown and the end of human culture. Judged by this test, the inmates of the Calcutta Jail must be assigned a high place in the ranks of culture and philosophy.

"Apart from setting fire to the Jail or killing a fellow-debtor, there was no restraint, and although the former of these contingencies did almost arise, it was not till 1855 that it did so, when I think your Captain was no longer the poet and the philosopher of 1800."

The style of Sir Thomas Turton's life in jail did not however escape criticism and we find the *Bengal Reader* indulging in the following rightful criticism:—"Criminal laws are in the same here as elsewhere. Although there are statutes as respect embezzlement, the first and more lenient one being applicable to Europeans and the last and the draconian one to natives and East Indians. So that Sir Thomas Turton escaped with impunity after having robbed the widow and the orphan, but Mr. W. H. Bolt is incarcerated in jail for having cheated of comparatively insignificant sum of two lacs of rupees."

"Diseases of the chest" were not very unfrequent in those days among high placed officials like Sir Thomas Turton and Mr. Bolt.

Sir Thomas Turton made his application for final discharge at the end of the term of his remand and was opposed on behalf of his creditors by Mr. Dickens and Mr. Jackson. His own counsel Mr. Morton was absent from town and Sir Thomas Turton conducted his own case personally with his usual brilliance and ability. The following is a contemporary record of the proceedings on the occasion:—

He said, "I can not object to the report of the commissioners upon the defalcations in my office but I believe property has been secretly abstracted by others than myself, particularly that portion of it which was invested in Company's paper." This was firmly believed. There were individuals who entered Sir Thomas Turton's office as beggars, and who may be said to have left it as princes. Their names are well-known to Calcutta and we need not specify them. The main point of his attempted defence was that he had intended to replace every farthing he had removed and that but for the failure of the Union Bank, he would have been able to accomplish his design. He winded up a very able defence by a touching description of the misery he had suffered, and of its effects upon both his bodily and mental constitution. The defence was well delivered and was distinguished by the moderation of its tone, and by a tacit admission of the grievous faults which he had committed in his official capacity, while his appearance fully bore out his statement of the mental agony he had endured.

Sir Thomas was released from imprisonment in 1853 and left India. Many years ago he had settled and hoped to leave India under different and far more honourable circumstances, and under other auspices.

A capable advocate and a fearless citizen, he had strongly opposed Lord Macaulay's Black Act in 1836. He took a prominent and vigorous part in the demonstration against the act. At a public meeting held for denouncing the act. Sir Thomas said "Again I will say that I consider English Law to be my birth right, but if we must have a pure despotism let it be so declared. Let Turkish Gazi administer it, but if so, let us be made acquainted with the fact in order that we may know that this has ceased to be the land in which Englishman can live. (Hear, Hear.) It is no longer the country for us. I would not consent to live in it on such terms whatever were the emoluments or whatever prospect of advantage a residence here could hold forth (Hear, Hear). No temptation of profit should induce me to remain here on such condition. I would leave it with disgust to be enjoyed by those who are content to hug the chains that bind them and kiss the rod by which they are scourged. (Much applause.)"

Fate had otherwise willed and it was not writ that this gifted and lock-less excentricity should depart from Indian shores with flying colours as he had promised to do with heroic gradiloquence. Crestfallen he went and the curtain dropped on his meteoric but ill-conditioned career in 1854 when he died.

The Indian Press which was then mostly in European hands was agitated over the case. According to Sir W. Lee-Warner, the talented biographer of Lord Dalhousie "The bankruptcy and resignation of Sir Thomas Turton, the Ecclesiastical Registrar, Calcutta, and his large defalcations, appeared to the Indian Press at the time to be most serious event in the history of the first quarter of the year 1848." And to its honour be it said and proclaimed that the Press was absolutely right.

D. P. SARVADHIKARI.

Commercial and Social Intercourse between the Honourable East India Company and the Poona Court in the Eighteenth Century.

INTRODUCTION.

“THE national advantages which Great Britain derives from her commerce with India seems not only to have fixed the general attention of all the nations of Europe but is to be considered the most extensive and lucrative branch of her trade; every honest effort, therefore, that can tend to enlarge those commercial advantages will no doubt receive a liberal encouragement from that Government who knows no greater gratification than the countenancing and rewarding virtuous actions.” Thus wrote (1) Capt. R. Greene to the Governor-General, the Earl of Mornington (the Marquis Wellesley), from *sillah* Bihar on the 1st of June 1798. The inestimable value and advantages of Indian trade to the British people, which Capt. Greene refers to in the extract of his letter so late as the year 1798, was realised nearly two centuries before by a band of patriotic and adventurous Englishmen, who in the year 1600 established a trading company in the East, under the name of the Honourable East India Company for the benefit of their Mother Country. This Company, as every student knows, came into commercial and social contact with many nations of India during the course of its activities among whom, as we shall subsequently see, the Mahrattas stand prominently.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE FITTEST.

It is well-known to the students of history how the Indian trade of the Company gradually became the “most extensive and lucrative branch of her trade” and how the “national advantages derived by Great Britain from this trade fixed the general attention of all the nations of Europe.” Among other European nations the Dutch, the French, the Danes, the German and the Swedes successively established their trading centres in India between the year 1602 and 1731 to oust the English from their commercial supremacy. But the survival of the fittest is fact and not fiction; thus the English in India by persistently following the policy of fair-play, self-restraint and toleration backed by “a liberal encouragement from their Government,”

(1) Mily. O. C., 5 June, 1800, No. 8.

not only emerged as winners in the tedious commercial struggle with European nations, but succeeded as well in building up an Empire in the East, the like of which the ancient Persians, Greeks and Romans could only conceive but never accomplish.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S FIRST COMMERCIAL TREATY WITH THE MAHRATTAS.

We find from the records (2) that after consolidating their trade in Bengal for nearly a century since the foundation of the Hooghly Factory in 1640, the Honourable East India Company turned their attention towards "the land of the Peshwas" with a view to extend their trade in their territories. In the month of July 1739, they entered into commercial relationship with the Mahrattas by signing a treaty at Bassein. In this transaction, Captain Inchbird was appointed as the plenipotentiary of the British Government, while Chimnaji Appa, brother and *Dewan* of the then reigning Peshwa, Baji Rao Pundit Pradhan, acted on behalf of the Mahrattas. For the full terms of this treaty the student is referred to the records. From the papers embodying it, we find that iron, lead, brimstone, saltpetre, dammar, sail-cloth and coir formed the chief articles of trade in the Mahratta countries in the first half of the eighteenth century, and that the rivers Nagotam, Penn and Bancote, whose names are now forgotten, once formed the high waterways, through which the Maharatta trading vessels used to ply.

MUGHAL AFFAIRS IN 1739.

Let us now turn for a moment to the affairs of the Mughal Court at Delhi. At the time when the commercial *pour-parlers* were going on between the English and the Mahrattas, Nadir Shah, the Persian, swept down like a whirlwind from the north-west and after defeating the Mughal Emperor, Muhammad Shah, entered the Imperial Capital. After having subjected Delhi to a fifty-eight days' sack accompanied by slaughter, he left the city with booty estimated at 32 crores of rupees. In this invasion the magnificent Peacock Throne of the Great Mughal, Shah Jehan—the pride of Mughal grandeur in India—vanished for ever from the confines of Hindustan. Thus under the shadow of a dark calamity did the Honourable East India Company enter into commercial relations with the Mahrattas in the year 1739.

SECOND COMMERCIAL TREATY.

Seventeen years after the conclusion of the treaty of Bassein, another treaty for the protection of each other's commercial rights and privileges was found imperative. On the 12th of October, 1756, Governor Bouchier concluded another commercial treaty with the third Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao Pandit Pradhan. For the terms of the treaty the student is again referred to the records (3). We find from the treaty that the Dutch were also trading at the time with the Mahrattas, and that the port of Rajapur was used

(2) Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25.

(3) *Ibid.*

by them for unloading their goods. It says: "The Dutch goods will not be permitted to be landed at Rajapur nor their trade suffered to be carried on there, concerning which the Mahrattas will give proper orders and the people under the Mahratta Government are not to trade at Rajapur." Curiously enough, the Mughal Empire in India this year again terribly suffered from the third inroad of the Afghan invader, Ahmad Shah Durrani, the Imperial capital being sacked by him.

THIRD COMMERCIAL TREATY.

Five years after the conclusion of the second commercial treaty, another was found essential by the Honourable East India Company to protect their trading vessels and merchandise from the unjust and illegal interference of the Mahratta officials. The new treaty was concluded between the Governor Crommelin and the 4th Peshwa, Madhu Rao Balaji on the 14th September 1761. For the terms of the treaty (4), the student is once more referred to the records. The year was highly disastrous to the Mahrattas, for but eight months before their rising power in India had suffered a crushing blow by the combined armies of the Afghans and the Mughals on the field of Panipat.

THE CRUMBLING OF AN EMPIRE.

The fateful year of 1761 in which the treaty was concluded forms an important epoch in the annals of India. The great empire of the Mughals which was reared up by Babar on the field of Panipat 235 years ago was crumbling to pieces. The Emperor, Shah Alum, was wandering about in the confines of Behar as a fugitive. Ahmad Shah Durrani, the victor, of the third battle of Panipat, was the undisputed master of Hindustan. In the districts around Delhi, the Jats, on one side, and the Rohillas, on the other, were consolidating the power they had usurped. The Mahratta dream of universal empire in India under a Hindu sceptre was shattered for ever on the field of Panipat and although the fourth Peshwa, Madhu Rao Balaji was still at the head of the Mahratta confederacy, its power was henceforth partitioned among the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Bhonsla of Nagpur, Holkar of Indore and Scindhia of Gwalior, all of whom were seldom at peace with one another. The Nizam of Hyderabad had been crippled by the surrender of some of his most valuable districts to the Mahrattas. The power of the French was broken. In southern India, Hyder Ali was on the point of grasping the supreme control in Mysore, and the English, since their success on the field of Plassey in 1757, were establishing and consolidating their predominance in Bengal and in the valley of the Ganges. Such were the vicissitudes of the times.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SOCIAL INTERCOURSE WITH THE MAHRATTAS.

With the steady progress of commercial relationship between the Honourable East India Company and the Mahrattas since 1739, a cordial

feeling and good-will naturally grew up. The first practical evidence of this friendship was given by the 6th Peshwa, Madhu Rao Narayan, who through his *vakil* sent some valuable gifts (5) to General Sir John Clavering and Mr. Richard Barwell on the 6th August 1777. Thus the foundation of social relationship between the Honourable East India Company and the Poona Court was laid by the latter in the year 1777.

THE FIRST MAHRATTA WAR. FOURTH COMMERCIAL TREATY.

The course of this commercial and social amity between the Honourable East India Company and the Mahratta Court which had hitherto run smoothly was somewhat disturbed by the outbreak of the First Mahratta War in 1779. On the conclusion of this war the fourth commercial treaty was found essential to safeguard the trading interests of both parties which had suffered during the war. This treaty between the British Government and the Poona Court was signed at Salbai in the month of May, 1782.

RESUMPTION OF SOCIAL INTERCOURSE.

The records between the year 1783 and 1788 are silent about the exchange of complimentary gifts between the two Governments which ceased for sometime after the First Mahratta War. The first instance of "the commencement of the social intercourse" by means of gifts and presents after the war occurs towards the end of the year 1788. From the letter (6) of the Board to C. W. Malet (7), British Resident at Poona, dated the Council Chamber, 30th December, 1788, it may be found that the British Government sent about this time to the Poona Court (the Mahratta Court) a bale consisting of the finest fabrics of Bengal as a complimentary gift. Again, we find, in the letter (8) of Malet to the Board, dated Poona, January 1789 that in the Christmas of the year 1788 he sent to the Poona Court a gift consisting of fruits and sweetmeats. We also find from this letter that about this time the Mahratta Court also sent to the British Government as a present "a diamond ring and a string of pearls." Lastly we find in the records (9) that on the 19th and the 22nd June 1789 the Mahratta Court sent to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, several articles of the Deccan fabrics "to convey their sense of regard and respect for the British Government."

(5) Pub. O. C., 11 Aug. 1777, No. A; see also Appendix.

(6) Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 27.

(7) Sir Charles Warre Malet was the eldest son of the Rev. Alexander Malet, Rector of Combe Florey, Somerset. At an early age he entered the service of the Honourable East India Company and after filling various posts, including a mission to the Great Mughal, he was in 1785, appointed Resident Minister at Poona at the Court of the Peshwa, Madhu Rao Narayan. Subsequently Malet was for sometime acting Governor of Bombay up to the year 1798 when he retired from service returning Home. He was created a baronet on 24 Feb. 1791. He was an F. R. S. and an F. S. A. and died in 1815. (Gent. Magazine, 1815, Part I, page 185.)

(8) Pub. O. C., 16 Mar. 1789, No. 7.

(9) Pub. O. C., 5 Aug. 1789, No. 5; 23 Oct. 1789, Nos. 4-6.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ENDEAVOURS TO INTRODUCE BENGAL FABRICS IN THE MAHRATTA TERRITORIES.

Careful readers of the records will find that in the selection of the presents for the Mahratta Court, the Honourable East India Company always paid particular attention to the "muslin cloths and fine white fabrics manufactured in Bengal" with a view to their introduction and circulation in the Mahratta countries and in the Deccan. The following extract from Malet's letter (10) to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, dated Poona, the 26th June, 1789, will elucidate matters:—

"Your Lordship will recollect that the commencement of the intercourse of presents originated in the hope of making it conducive to the foundation of commercial advantages by the introduction of the white cloths of Bengal for the consumption of this (Mahratta) country. In this idea, permit me, my lord, to submit to your consideration the propriety of sending, after a proper interval, another allotment of Bengal manufacturers, to be carefully composed of the finest kinds of flowered muslins, such as *Agabannoo tartore*, but above all of the most delicate *shubnum*, for none but the very finest textures will answer your Lordship's intention of conveying satisfaction to the Mahratta people, whose affectation of delicacy in their dress is excessive."

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ENDEAVOURS TO INTRODUCE ENGLISH WARES AND SCIENTIFIC GOODS IN THE PESHWA'S DOMINIONS.

Another interesting point which we gather from the records is that this "social intercourse of presents" between the Honourable Company and the Mahrattas gave Malet a golden opportunity to introduce into the Peshwa's dominions the scientific and geographical goods manufactured in England and thus gradually helped to "propagate among the Mahrattas a love and esteem for the arts and sciences of England." The following extract from the letter (11) of Malet to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, dated Poona, the 26th June, 1789, is to the point:—

"As, however, in the prosecution of this (social) intercourse, I should be glad to convert it to the propagation of an esteem and love for the arts and sciences of our native country (England) and as the Mahratta Minister has on more occasion than one desired me to give the young Peshwa an idea of our geographical system, which I have complied as well as my scanty collection of maps permitted, I have to crave your Lordship's indulgence in suggesting your commissioning, or permitting me to commission, from England to Bombay, an orrery,* a pair of globes, a set of instruments and a set of the largest and best coloured maps procurable; in which great attention

(10) Pub. O. C., 5 Aug. 1789, No. 5.

(11) *Ibid.*

* The name is derived from Fourth Earl of Orrery (1676-1731), for whom one of this astronomical instrument was first made.

should be paid to the durability of the articles and the real goodness of their workmanship, particularly in the orrery and globes as none but of the strongest and best materials would stand in this country, and the smallest disorder would render them totally useless where no damage can be repaired."

RULES AGAINST ACCEPTANCE OF COMPLIMENTARY GIFTS BY THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS.

From the records (12) which deal with the exchange of presents between the Company and the Mahratta Court, we find that the English officers were debarred by "the laws of England" from accepting any complimentary presents from any source whatever on their own account but had to credit them to the account of the Honourable Company. As this law also applied to the complimentary gifts from the Peshwa's Court, it was taken as a national affront and insult by the Mahratta Government. Malet brought this fact to the notice of the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, in his letters of the 13th and 14th February, 1789 and pointed out to him that he (Malet) "experiences much inconvenience and embarrassment in his intercourse in public business with the Peshwa and his Ministers by the prohibition under which he (Malet) had been laid against accepting complimentary presents." Lord Cornwallis, accordingly, thought it necessary to relax the rule relating to the acceptance of complimentary gifts on the part of the Company's servants, and in his letter to Malet, dated Fort William, 16th March, 1789, wrote as follows:—

"I have after very mature deliberation thought it incumbent upon me, though not without some degree of reluctance, to relax on that head of your instructions (*i.e.*, propriety of accepting complimentary gifts)."

"I had long entertained hopes that the Mahratta Ministers would after your explanations have clearly seen that no just cause was given to them for offence by our adopting a line of conduct which we declared to be conformable to instructions from home, as well as to our own national customs; but however unreasonable it may be on them to persevere in expecting the continuance of an acquiescence on our part with the customs of India, I think it more prudent to desist from a punctilious observance of the rule which I had wished to establish rather than run the risk of embarrassing and impeding essential points of public business by the imitation (*sic*) and disgust which a constant refusal to comply with that part of their manners and customs in ceremonial intercourse would probably occasion."

RECORDS ON THE COMMERCIAL HISTORY OF THE MAHRATTAS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The archives of the Imperial Record Department contain several records (13) of the latter half of the eighteenth century which supply ample

(12) Pub. O. C., 11 Aug. 1777, No. A; 16 Mar. 1789, No. 9.

(13) Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, Nos. 25-29.

materials for writing an interesting chapter on the commercial and economic history of the Peshwa's dominions of that period. These records deal with the accounts of the foreign and internal commerce of the Mahrattas, of the state of the trade which was then carried on between the Company and the Mahrattas, of the gradual expansion of the city of Poona, of the true sources of the wealth of the Mahratta state, of the imports and exports between Bombay and the Mahratta countries, of the agriculture, commerce and topography of the Deccan and the contiguous countries, of the state of the then Mahratta Government and of the Mughal rule before its final disruption. Among these papers, the letter (14) written by Malet to Lord Cornwallis from Poona on the 8th of August, 1788, stands conspicuous. This letter forms the report which Malet sent to the Governor-General in reply to his enquiry of the 28th November, 1787, regarding "the present and past state of the commercial intercourse between the Company's territories and those of the Mahrattas." The intention (15) of Lord Cornwallis in asking his report from Malet was "to form a judgment how far the aforesaid commercial intercourse may admit of an increase advantageous to both sides."

MALET'S REPORT ON THE MAHRATTA COUNTRIES.

The report of Malet is a mine of information for the students of the Mahratta history of the time. It draws a dark picture of the system of government which was then in vogue at Poona, the headquarters of the Mahratta Government, and of the principles which influenced the rulers of it—things which were, according to him, highly prejudicial to the growth of English commerce in their countries during that period. The following extracts from the report in question throw a flood of light on this point as well as on various other subjects relating to contemporary Mahratta history:—

"The Peshwa administration is on every act more or less influenced by that avarice which so invariably and so strongly marks the Brahmin character; while mean in its genius and grasping in its policy, it frequently mistakes the mode of gratifying its ruling passion averse from, and probably ignorant of the systematic and equitable principles on which alone commerce can be rendered flourishing by encouraging the industry in the security and happiness of the subject. Its chief attention seems directed to conquest and depredation giving employment at once to the desultory military spirit of the Mahrattas and supplying the State and the chief individual Brahmin with wealth and power."

"Commerce, but more especially foreign, less understood, would be more slow and precarious in its operation. The arrangements necessary for its effectual protection are incompatible with that spirit of expedient and venality by which every thing is influenced at Poona. They would in some measure intrench upon the arrogant principles of aristocracy by a general diffusion of wealth and interfere with the system of farms which is universally

(14) Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25.

(15) Pub. O. C., 22 Apr. 1789, No. 25 (1st para.).

adopted from the smallest branch of the customs to the disposal of provinces whence the subject, instead of experiencing the uniform and vigorous protection of a wise Government is cruelly sacrificed to the rapacity and oppression of the highest bidder."

"The state of the numerous ports of the Mahratta Empire on the coast of Malabar and the Guzarat, but more especially the former, evinces a spirit hostile to commerce and I have not a doubt were its fleet equal to the end (sic but that it would be instantly converted to the same predatory purpose at sea as its armies are by land as it now is against all those whom it can master. This perhaps is fortunate for us as presenting a bar to the admission and rivalry of our European neighbours though certainly the customs of a single year in a well frequented port, not to mention the numberless advantages of population, etc., would greatly exceed the profits of plunder after deducting the expense which must be great in keeping up a number of piratical vessels."

"The rich and commercial kingdom of Guzarat (every town of which is or was inhabited by rich Banians, a tribe as attached to commerce as any other tribe of the Hindus to its hereditary pursuits) flourished infinitely more by its traffic during the violent convulsions of the Mughal Government, previous to the establishment of the Mahratta power, than it ever has since that event, though time and tranquillity have given ample leisure for doing away the effects of conquest and the transfer of dominion."

MALET'S REMARKS ON THE MUGHAL GOVERNMENT.

"The Mughals, magnificent and ostentatious, required every article of luxury. Towns and cities grew out of this spirit. The Brahmins and Mahrattas, less refined and more parsimonious, are averse from and ignorant of those costly modes of expense. Hence those towns and cities, deprived of the cause of their existence, are mouldering fast into ruin and their wealthier inhabitants have sunk under or fled from the rapacity of their new masters. In this cause might probably be traced the seeds of the present drooping commercial state of all those provinces of Hindustan that have been subjected to the Mahratta power under which the Provincial moneyed men, not to mention the substantial landholders, have been subjected to oppressions and exactions. Personal property has become insecure. Industry has failed; an aristocratical wealth, arising from the soil and the labours of the peasantry, has succeeded which is confined to the conquerors; and Poona (the headquarters of the Peshwa Government) has become an insatiable sink into which vast treasures have been poured scarce ever again to circulate."

"This was not the case under the Mughals. The riches carried annually to Delhi did not stagnate there. The internal commerce of the Empire and the spirit of the people gave full employment to the foreign influx of wealth. The productions of each province and the performances of every art were in high demand and the pay of the vast armies of the

Empire kept pace in magnificence with every other article of expense. Hence arose numberless channels through which the wealth of the Empire was again circulated to its extreme branches."

"The mere accumulation of riches by the inhabitants of an Empire is vicious and sordid but much more so when it becomes the sole object of the rulers. A wise legislature studies to make them the stimulatives of genius, of sciences, of agriculture and of commerce, to convert them to the consumption of the produce of industry and so to arrange them as that the coffers of the State may be replenished from the redundance of the subject but this system is not known at Poona."

MALET ON THE REVENUE POLICY OF THE MAHRATTAS.

The following comments of Malet on the Mahratta fiscal policy, on the principal expedients which they resorted to for the supply of their revenues and on the true sources of the wealth of their State amply repay perusal:—

"The fixed and grand source of the Mahratta State's revenue is agriculture, the best perhaps on which a nation can depend. That it has such a revenue is the necessary consequence of possessing an immense tract of productive domain, that it is not more productive but, on the contrary, that it labours under every disadvantage proceeds from a faulty constitution. The second is its tribute, fixed by various denominations on the greatest part of Hindusthan. The third, the predatory collections of its armies. The fourth, its domestic sequestrations and the last, its collections on the commerce of the Empire which are comparatively trifling and insignificant."

The following account of the gradual expansion of the city of Poona in the latter half of the eighteenth century and of the increase in the number of its inhabitants and of the cause from which it proceeded will prove interesting to the reader:—

"Poona is still a large village to which people of all denominations and all professions are now beginning to resort from the other ruined parts of Hindusthan, particularly from the decayed Mughal cities. Its reputation for security, since the two abortive expeditions from Bombay, has greatly tended to promote its increase and population as the wealthier Brahmins have in consequence begun to employ some part of their hidden riches in building, which single circumstance necessarily gives employment to a great number and a great variety of artificers as the wants attendant on large buildings are endless."

"The circumstances which are above enumerated of the great wealth of the Brahmins and the great increase of Poona in buildings and inhabitants, must, I should imagine cause a greater demand for the articles which can be furnished only from Bombay than heretofore."

J. M. M.

BENGAL AND GUJARAT TRADE COMPARED.

The following extracts from Malet's report give to the students of the economic history of India some interesting accounts of the agriculture,

commerce and manufactures of Bengal as also of the Guzarat during the latter half of the eighteenth century and of the effects which the First Mahratta War (1779-81) subsequently produced on the Bengal-Mahratta trade:—

“It has been suggested to me that the trade of Bengal raw silk and piece-goods with the Mahratta countries through the channel of Bombay has greatly decreased of late years, which decrease is imputed to the interruption caused by the war, and the consequent diversion of that trade into other channels. It appears, however, from the “comparative account of imports and exports between Bombay and the Mahratta territories” (16) that the war has not been productive of this effect. But even allowing that it had, I presume, that the loss would have been confined to Bombay in being deprived of the beneficial consequences of commercial mediation, but that the consumption of the produce of Bengal would not have been affected since other channels by sea and land present themselves to supply the stoppage of intercourse with Bombay. Hence arises a conclusion that hostility with the Poona Government is not in any case likely to be attended with commercial prejudice to Bengal.”

“I have been informed by Governor Ramsay that the demand for the Guzarat cotton in Bengal has greatly decreased of late years owing to the increased cultivation of it at home. This seems to convey a proof of the increase of industry and population in the latter province and as the same gentleman mentions likewise a great decrease in the importation of raw silk at Bombay, this likewise may be imputed to a greater appropriation of that article to the establishment of new or the multiplication of old manufactures at home.”

“It is a very curious circumstance in commercial intercourse that these two richest provinces of Hindusthan, I mean, Guzarat and Bengal, used regularly to exchange their respective commodities of silk and cotton; the former, the produce of Bengal, was manufactured in the highest perfection at and distributed all over the Eastern World from, Ahmedabad, the capital of Guzarat; the latter, the growth of Guzarat was distributed in a still greater degree of delicacy and perfection from the looms of Bengal. These with spices, were the articles by which the specie of the West has from time immemorial been drawn to the East.”

“If therefore by improving its manufactures of silk, Bengal can at all rival those of Guzarat, the advantage of its being a domestic produce will be decisive while, on the other hand, should it emancipate itself from all dependance of Guzarat for cotton (in the fabric of which it confessedly excels all the world) by cultivating sufficient for its manufactures, the concentration of the produce and manufacture of those two grand articles in itself must necessarily conduce greatly to the increase of its population and as necessarily draw into its circulation the specie of the Gulfs of Persia and Arabia, not to mention that of Europe, and a large portion of that of the

rest of Hindusthan (though the fabric and sale of its finest white cloths have suffered an irrecoverable blow in the annihilation of the Mughal Empire, in the elegance and refinement of which sprang their chief consumption); and in addition to its rice, saltpetre, opium, sugar, etc., to which indigo has lately been added present, as being the produce of the soil, the most inexhaustible, most unfailing and most desirable sources of wealth. I am informed that several families of Guzarat silk manufacturers, *soucars* and others, distressed by the oppressions of the farmers of this State who rule that Province have fled to and settled at Benares where they practise their former occupation."

FURTHER MATERIALS REGARDING THE COMMERCIAL HISTORY OF THE MAHRATTAS.

Malet enclosed with his report some papers which are highly useful to students of history. Among these papers the following are worthy of our attention:—

FIRST ENCLOSURE.

(1) Statement of charges and mode of commercial conveyance between Poona and Goa and with other manufacturing towns of the Company's Eastern territories (Bengal) during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

This enclosure gives us a general view of the foreign and internal commerce of the Mahratta countries independant of their intercourse with Bombay. It also conveys important information regarding the trade and manufactures of Bengal. From these papers it is gathered that tin, pepper, dry coconuts, betelnuts, spices, quick-silver, lead, saffron, asfoetida, vermillion, copper, wax-candles, broad cloth, raw silk and muskets were the principal articles which used to come from Goa to Poona by means of bullocks or boats. Again we find that piece-goods, white and coloured and plain cotton mixed with silk used to come from Narronpoynt (North of the Krishna river) to Poona by means of bullocks. *Chintzes* and white cloths used to come from Burhanpur (on the Tapti river) to Poona by means of bullocks and *tatoos* (ponies). The *chintzes* of this city were held in high esteem at the city of Poona. A *chintz* turban, *seyla* and *jammah* of the best fabric would cost upwards of rupees one thousand. We again find that *seylas*, turbans, *saris*, white and coloured plain and mixed, used to come from Peytun (on the Wain-Ganga river) to Poona by means of bullocks, and mixed silk and cotton brocaded cloths, used to come from Aurangabad (in Nizam Ali's dominions) to Poona by means of the same conveyance. White cotton piece-goods used to come from Shagur (on the Wain-Ganga river) to Poona also by means of bullocks. Benares and Bengal cotton and silk piece-goods used to come from Mirzapore (on the Ganges) to Nagpur by means of bullocks. Nagpur used to trade with Omrahpur in Benares and Bengal cotton and silk piece-goods and *vice versa* and bullocks were employed as the means of conveyance.

The following extracts from this enclosure should prove of interest to the readers:—

NOTES ON COMMERCIAL TOPICS FROM MALET'S REPORT.

- (a) "The goods that reach Poona by the Mirzapore route are chiefly *petambiers* and *taftas*. Raw silk is taken up at Aurangabad and other places on the road. The principal importation of Bengal goods is said to be through Bombay; but it does not appear that the white piece-goods of Bengal are in that demand in the Deccan which their quality seems to merit."
- (b) "The mixed silk and cotton brocaded cloths which are manufactured in the city of Aurangabad are inferior to those of Guzarat and the city is almost depopulated by the oppression of the Government straitened as it is by the neighbourhood and usurpations of this (*sic*) to which the decline of its trade with the Carnatic may probably be added. Great quantities of Bengal raw silk were formerly manufactured in this city and brought in by the way of Benares and Bombay. The quality is now greatly fallen off."
- (c) "The *chintzes* of the city of Burhanpur are in very high esteem at the city of Poona. A *chintz* turban, *seyla* and *jammah* of the best fabric will cost upwards of a thousand rupees."

SECOND ENCLOSURE.

(2) Statements of the imports and exports between Bombay and Poona between the years 1773 and 1787 by Governor Ramsay from the Bombay Custom House records. We find from the records that these "Statements" also speak of imports and exports at the subordinate port of Mahim on the northern extremity of the Island of Bombay.

This enclosure makes it clear that the balance of trade between Bombay and the Mahratta countries during the years mentioned in it was greatly in favour of the former as is evidenced by the costly nature of many of the export articles. It can further be seen that some of the articles imported at Bombay from Poona were again exported to advantage.

THIRD ENCLOSURE.

(3) Comparative account of imports and exports between Bombay and the Mahratta territories during the latter half of the eighteenth century.

The above enclosure reveals to us the extraordinary fact that in spite of the First Mahratta War the imports at Bombay during that war were decidedly greater and that the exports, except in the article of broad cloth, were not very deficient.

FOURTH ENCLOSURE.

(4) Estimates of charges on goods between Bombay and Poona including expense of carriage and customs.

This paper furnishes an "idea of an extraordinary want of minuteness and discrimination on the part of the Poona Court in the arrangement of the

imports on the principal articles of commerce between Bombay and Poona; while on the other hand the simple mode that is substituted to that of fixing the imposts on a valuation of the articles relieves the merchant from the vexatious cavil and altercation which must otherwise ensue with a grasping tenacious farmer of the revenue." The enclosure further gives us information as to the mode of conveyance adopted towards the latter half of the eighteenth century in certain parts of the Mahratta country for carrying goods and merchandise. The paper says: —

"The ruggedness of the country between Panwell and Poona, but more particularly the impracticability of the *Ghauts* to any wheeled or draft conveyance confines the whole of the carriage to bullocks with the exception of a few *tatoos*."

These enclosures (17) are too lengthy for reproduction.

MALET'S DESCRIPTION OF THE DECCAN AND THE ADJOINING COUNTRIES.

The concluding portion of Malet's report gives a fascinating account of the commerce and topography of the Deccan and of the adjoining countries and presents vividly many interesting points relating to the past history of several important Indian cities of that period. The following extract is reproduced:—

"Exclusive of the above principal piece-good manufactories (Curpa, Narronpoynt, Burhanpur, Mirzapore and Shagur) there are several other towns of less note as Mandeer, Bhur, Edghere (*sic*) and Jalna. The Deccan is supplied with its best silk goods, *Kinkhabs*, etc., from Guzarat; opium from Malwa; matchlocks, bows and swords are brought from the Northern part of Hindusthan, from Ahmedabad and other places, and some are manufactured in the Muhammadan cities of Hyderabad, Aurangabad and Bijapur. A considerable quantity of Masulipatam *chintz* reaches the Deccan which is used for making quilted coats and various other kinds of quilting. The turbans of that country are also good, but they are too short for the fashion of this country."

"Poona cannot boast of the establishment of a single manufacture, for surely the practice of a few fugitive and temporary weavers from Aurangabad do not yet entitle it to the name of possessing a manufacture. The great vales (if a space of country full of distinct hills but bounded by long ranges can be called so) into which the Deccan is divided are well furnished with rivulets, most of which might, I conceive, even in their present unimproved state, be used to advantage, during the rainy season, to promote the interior carriage of the country; but except the transportation of a very few rafts of timber, I do not observe that the smallest benefit is derived from them in that way. The long courses of the *Ganga* (Wain-Ganga) and the Kistna might certainly be converted to great commercial advantage, not to mention the innumerable less important streams that flow into them; but as the direction

of all of them is ultimately the same, the distant communication across that direction must necessarily intersect those ranges of hills which give direction to the rivers, and by which, as already observed, the whole country is divided. The rugged and unimproved passes of those ranges render bullocks the only practicable mode of conveyance though carts of a very rude construction are used by the villager for the conveyance of grain within the different ranges, but even in those spaces, the country is extremely uneven and stony."

"I am informed that formerly there was a great mart for the horses of the Deccan and the camels of Marwar at the great annual *Jattr* of Tripetty (a town and hill temple in Madras) which is held in the month of October. Great quantities of the brocade and silk goods of Aurangabad and the Guzarat, with other piece-goods, used to go with the caravans from the Deccan, whence were brought in exchange several articles of the fabric of the Lower Carnatic. This great assembly of distant nations at Tripetty was on religious principles and the same strong attraction operates the same very beneficial effect throughout, I believe, the whole of Hindusthan. It is a great pity that the interests and happiness of mankind, so closely connected and so eminently promoted by such an intercourse, should be exposed to the caprice and the passions of princes. The route of the Deccan caravans to Tripetty was, I am informed, originally through Curpa. The violences of the Pathan Chief of that place, while it was an Independency, diverted it further to the Southward, through the territory of Hyder Ali; and the late war between that Prince and the Company drove it back again still further to the Northward through Hyderabad; but Tipu Sultan is now, I understand, using his utmost efforts to bring this golden current into its ancient channel."

LORD CORNWALLIS ON BENGAL TRADE.

From the records it appears that after reading Malet's report Lord Cornwallis wrote him a letter (18) on the 30th of October 1788, from Fort William, instructing him to convert his experience of the Mahratta countries "to the desirable purposes of improving the revenues of Bengal by increasing her trade and promoting the sale of her manufactures in those countries." In this letter he requests Malet "to encourage those people who have taken refuge to the city of Poona from the decayed Mughal towns of Hindusthan to seek an asylum in the Company's territories in Bengal" and also to invite "the Burharnpur manufacturers of *chintz* and the ingenious artists of all denominations to settle with their families under the protection of the Company, especially those who can introduce any new arts or manufactures or improve such as are already established in Bengal."

MALET'S NOVEL SUGGESTIONS.

So far we have seen that the Honourable East India Company used to draw Indian wealth by means of commerce for "the national advantages of

Great Britain." But in the records it is noted that Malet in his letter (19) to Lord Cornwallis, dated Poona, January 1789, suggested a novel method of attaining the same object. This consisted in "working on the religious opinions of the people of Hindusthan." The following extract from his letter explains the scheme:—

"In my present public address you will observe that I have started an idea of working on the religious opinions of the Poona Court and that of Nagpur to promote our views by granting them immunities and indulgences at Benares and Caya. It has in all ages been a grand object of the wisdom of legislators to draw foreign wealth into their dominions and I need not recapitulate the various expedients of spectacles, games, oracles, mysteries and reputed sanctity of various places which have been used so successfully by almost all nations and of which Benares and Mecca are at this instant so strong examples of attraction over the two great sects of the Eastern World. These are complete proofs of the influence in its full force unbroken by any of those circumstances of anarchy or oppression that weaken and destroy it; and instance of which predicament offers in the present state of Jerusalem where the avarice and bigotry of the Ruling power hostile to the faith of the pilgrims has almost entirely done away the source of wealth incident to that desire of visiting the Holy City which once roused all Christendom to arms. If then it is an object worthy of attention to draw a concourse of foreigners and of course their wealth into our land, it necessarily becomes an object to add to the attractions of superstition those of safety, ease and freedom from imposition and though I am sure that the genius of no Government in the world is more likely than ours to insure the latter, the great difference of our ideas and the distance of the object may without reflection have rendered us indifferent as to any active favourable interposition, for which, when I surmise that there may be room in the structure of *caravanseries* for the accommodation of the votaries and a regular appointment of officers charged with the management and government of so heterogeneous a multitude. I confess that I do it at a venture, without knowing whether any such things do already exist or not. What I have mentioned as to the provisional grant of immunities to the Court and that of Nagpur is also, I must confess, without any knowledge of the subject, other than that I think it might be so used as to be introduced with very great weight, and even should the idea on the present occasion never operate, I have some notion that a voluntary offer to the different Hindu princes of Hindusthan that a certain number of their passports or ours sent to them, should annually entitle the possessors to a free passage to the two holy places would be attended with the two great and good consequences of highly gratifying those princes and promoting the spirit of pilgrimage, and as I doubt not but that all the courts to whom such privilege might be granted would make a perquisite of it somewhat inferior to the common imposts, it follows that they would be then interested to promote a spirit which it is now evidently their interest to check and divert, however they may be blinded to that interest by prejudice and superstition.

But if my idea is worthy of any notice, all immunities or indulgence should of course be reserved exclusively for the Courts on which we mean to make an impression. And if in the course of these negotiations we should be able to secure the money of the pilgrims for the supply of Bombay by granting them bills at an easy exchange on Benares, surely nothing would remain either for Government or the pilgrim to wish from us after having so liberally contributed to the extension of the Power of the one and the Ease of the other and 'what is a singular felicity in the distribution of benefits.' All to the advancement of our own honour and most essential interests!"

How far the suggestions of Malet were utilized and acted upon by the Government will be seen from the records of the nineteenth century which do not come within the scope of this paper.

APPENDIX.

(1) List of articles presented by the *Vakil* of the Peshwa and Ministers at Poona to General Sir John Clavering on the 6th August 1777:—

- (a) One horse.
- (b) One Sirpaich.
- (c) Two Shawls.
- (d) One piece of *Kinkhab*.
- (e) Seven pieces of white cloth called *Moondée*.

(2) List of articles presented by the *Vakil* of the Peshwa and Ministers at Poona to Mr. R. Barwell:—

(Same as above.)

A. F. M. ABDUL ALI.

The Last Days of Rajah Chait Singh.¹

(Based on unpublished State Records.)

CHAIT SINGH, Raja of Benares, is one of the tragic characters in the drama of Warren Hastings' government of India. The Rajahs of Benares had at first been feudatories of Oudh, but by the treaty of May 1775, Nawab Asaf-ud-daula ceded the State of Benares to the Company, and its Rajahs became vassals of the English on the same conditions as before. Hastings, who was displeased with Chait Singh for various reasons, (see Gleig's *Memoirs of W. Hastings*, ii. 399-401), and had received reports of his having accumulated a crore and-a-half of Rupees,—wanted to exact from him heavy extraordinary contributions for the Maratha war in which the Company was then involved. For at first objecting to these demands and then delaying in complying with them, the Governor-General decided to punish him; he personally went to Benares, imposed on Chait Singh a fine of 50 lakhs, *i.e.*, $2\frac{1}{4}$ times the annual tribute of the Benares State, and put the Rajah under arrest in his own house, the Shivala palace (16 Aug. 1781). There was afterwards a tumult between the Rajah's followers and the sepoys and chobdars of the Company stationed there, with the result that the latter were killed. The Rajah escaped across the river, and was deposed and declared a rebel. He took refuge at Bijaigarh, on the hills overlooking the Son river, but fled from that fort to Rewa when Major Popham came to invest it.

The fugitive ex-Rajah next sought asylum among the petty princes of Bundelkhand and finally in the dominions of Sindhia, where he died in obscurity in 1810.

This is all that can be learnt about Rajah Chait Singh from history, which, however, is silent on his closing days, perhaps because he ceased to figure in the politics of this country after his expulsion from Benares. In this paper I shall try to reconstruct, as far as possible, the history of his last days with the help of unpublished State records.

Hastings stood in urgent need of peace with the Peshwa and he was, therefore, glad when news reached him at Benares that Col. Muir had concluded a secret treaty with Sindhia at Budha Dongar (near Marwar) on 13 October, 1781. This only secured a cessation of hostilities with that Chief who, however, made an offer to interpose his friendly offices at the Puna darbar for bringing about a pacification between the Peshwa and the Company's Government. In order to hasten the conclusion of such a peace, Hastings now charged David Anderson with a deputation to the camp of Sindhia, who possessed great credit and influence in the Maratha State. Anderson left Benares on 5 Nov. 1781, and on the 28th of the month

(1) Read before the Indian Historical Records Commission held at Nagpur on 5th December, 1928.

waited upon Col. Muir, then encamped at Etawa, from whom he was instructed to obtain all necessary information and advice before proceeding to Sindhia.

In the meantime, Chait Singh had sent a trusted agent to the camp of Sindhia to plead his cause in advance and propose once again to oppose the British with a strong army. Leaving Bundelkhand Chait Singh himself finally joined the Gwalior Chief in the neighbourhood of Datia (November 1781) (2). The needy state of Sindhia's finances, the natural avarice of the Marathas, and the great wealth which Chait Singh was reported to have carried away with himself evidently influenced Sindhia to welcome the fugitive Rajah in his camp. The following extracts from Col. Muir's letters explain the position:—

"The intelligence I have from my *qasids* is, that Chait Singh's *vakil* has been with Sindhia some time, and has had several private audiences with him. The *vakil* on the part of his master requested the Patil's assistance by secretly consenting to Shivaji [Vittal] and Ambaji's joining him with their followers with a view to invade his former zamindari: Chait Singh, on the above being complied with, offered not only to pay the arrears of Sindhia's army but to defray the monthly expenses of all those who would attach themselves to his fortunes. The *qasids* further positively assert that all the Nagas in Sindhia's army have withdrawn themselves and joined Chait Singh at Jauney, where he now is and has been received most cordially." (5th December, 1781) (3).

"The *qasids*, who brought me the Patil's letters this morning, bring certain accounts of his having marched from Pechowli and was at the time they were despatched (the 1st instant) encamped between Harerah and Datia; by his letter to me you will learn Chait Singh's being then in his camp, and the desire he seems impressed with of becoming a mediator with you in his favour." (6th December, 1781) (4).

On 4th November 1781 Hastings had written to Sindhia informing him of Anderson's deputation to his camp, but the Gwalior Chief expressed his disinclination to admit the British envoy, until he should receive written authority to do so from the ministers at Puna, whom he had already addressed on the subject. At the same time he sent the following letter to Col. Muir:—

(2) The Peshwa's Government urged Mahadji to support the Benares Rajah and use him as a tool against the English. As the Puna Minister, Nana Fadnavis, wrote to Naro Shivdev, his agent with Mahadji in Malwa, on 27th November 1781:—"Chait Singh was weakened by Amani (Asaf-ud-daula) going over to the British and by the defeat of his own followers and had consequently to run away. He, however, is a man of spirit and deserves to be helped in his distress, in order to humble the British. So please urge upon Mahadji the great need of supporting the cause of Chait Singh, without caring for any monetary gain in the affair. This is a splendid opportunity." (Sané's *Kavyetihās Sangraha*, Patren Yadi, No. 294).

(3) *Secret Con.* 2nd January, 1782, No. 13.

(4) *Ibid.*, No. 14.

" You formerly wrote me in a letter that on hearing of the friendship subsisting between me and the Company, Rajah Chait Singh had claimed my protection. We have had an interview to-day. I am desirous that as our friendship is of the sincerest, you will write to the Nawab Jeladat Jang that whatever may be for his welfare he will do. Whatever I hear I will write you." (Received on 25th November 1781) (5).

Col. Muir, in acknowledging Sindhia's letters on the 19th Zil-hijja [1195H.-6 December 1781], took care to point out the impropriety of harbouring an enemy of the Company, when sincere friendship subsisted between them. Hastings, who had learnt from Col. Muir of the compassion extended to Chait Singh by Sindhia, also wrote to the latter on 22nd November, 1781, requesting him to withdraw his protection from the rebel.

Hastings did not read any unfriendly spirit in the conduct of Sindhia towards Chait Singh. This is clearly explained in his letter of 12th December, 1781 to Anderson, extracts from which are quoted below:—

" I can account for his conduct in both instances without imputing it to any design of departing from his engagements

" The fear of committing himself too far in an avowed separation of interests from the State to which he owes his obedience and service may be the cause of his hesitation in the first instance, and the allurements of Chait Singh's treasures his motives in the other. Conformably to this construction of his policy, I have written the enclosed letter to him

" It is my positive order that if Mahadji Sindhia shall decline to receive your deputation after the explanation which I have given him of its objects, or shall retain Chait Singh in his camp, or otherwise give him ostensible protection, you do instantly on receipt of his answers, should these not prove fully satisfactory on both these points, return to me." (12 Decr. 1781) (6).

After a few days Sindhia expressed his willingness to receive the deputation of Anderson, and Hastings passed this intelligence on to the Board at Calcutta:—

" I received letters both from Col. Muir and Mr. Anderson advising me that Mahadji Sindhia had pressingy invited Mr. Anderson to proceed to him, and that he had rejected all the solicitations of Chait Singh. On those occasion I wrote to Mr. Anderson to prosecute his journey and to pay no regard to my former letter, requiring only the removal of Chait Singh from the presence of Mahadji Sindhia while the Mr. Anderson was with him: in the meantime that gentleman having conformed to the substance of my first orders had obtained from Mahadji Sindhia a formal assurance that he would neither accept the solicitations of Chait Singh nor assist

(5) Sindhia to Col. Muir, received on 25th November 1781.—*Vol. (No. 17) of Eng. Trans. of Persian Letters Received for 1781*, pp. 376-77.

(6) *Secret Consultation* 2nd January, 1782, No. 16.

him in any way whatever, and that he would even prohibit him and his attendants from his darbar and kachari." (23 Jany. 1782). (7)

Sindhia mediated between the Poona Government and the English Company, and the treaty of Salbai, which was ratified by the Peshwa in December 1782, was the result, and for this service Hastings was sincerely grateful to the Chief of Gwalior. This transaction greatly enhanced Sindhia's influence and power.

To a man of such great influence as Mahadji Sindhia, Chait Singh now appealed for intercession with the English on his behalf. Sindhia consented to do this, although he had very soon to abandon the idea, owing to its impracticability, and tried to befriend the fugitive Rajah in other ways. David Anderson, the English Resident with Sindhia, explains the position at length in the following letter which he addressed to Governor-General Hastings on 8th May 1783:—

"I have for some time past (as I expected), been frequently and importunately solicited to write to you in favour of Chait Singh. Sindhia said that he received a letter from him whilst in Bundelkhand assuring him that he had no intention or desire of embroiling him with the English and that all he wanted was his friendly offices and intercession: that on these grounds he had received him into his camp and granted him protection; and that as everything else was now fully settled he hoped that he might use his intercession with effect. I persisted in my refusal to write, and Sindhia was much embarrassed; at one time he proposed to write to you himself; at another he resolved to bring Chait Singh suddenly to my tent, and throw him on my protection. I repeated all the circumstances which had passed betwixt him and the English Government—the peculiar favour with which you had treated him both in procuring him the first grant of the zamindari and in your subsequent conduct towards him—the base ingratitude which he had shewn in return—the danger and actual indignity to which he had exposed your persons—the cruelty and inhumanity which had marked and aggravated his rebellion—the proclamation issued by the gentlemen of the Council—the public declaration made by yourself to the principal inhabitants of Benares assembled on the investiture of his successor—the indignation conceived against him by all ranks of men both in India and in Europe. With the knowledge which I possessed of all these facts, I asked with what propriety could I presume to communicate any intercession in favour of a man whose offences were so heinous and unpardonable? or how could I, who had incessantly laboured to promote that firm and cordial friendship which subsisted

(7) *Forrest's Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Dept. of the Government of India, 1772-85*, iii. 834.

betwixt Sindhia and you, concur in his writing to you on a subject of this nature when no good effect could possibly result? I reminded him of the circumstances which had passed betwixt him and Tafazzal Husain Khan whilst I remained at Bandere. I observed that he had already done, all that hospitality or even his promise to Chait Singh required. I particularly entreated that he would not take the step which he meditated of bringing Chait Singh to me as it would draw me personally into a most disagreeable dilemma without the smallest prospect of any one consequence favourable to his wishes.

After many messages to and from, Bhau Bakhshi at length came to me and assured me that Sindhia was now fully convinced that the wishes he had formed for Chait Singh were totally impracticable, that otherwise he was well assured that I would not have been at so much pains to discourage them; and that he would now endeavour to provide for Chait Singh in some other way. Bhau Bakhshi ascribed the great importunity, which had been shown on this occasion, to the officious intrigues of one of his own servants who had endeavoured to supplant him in Sindhia's favour by flattering him with hopes that he would be more successful than his master to whose remissness he imputed the inefficacy of Sindhia's applications on this subject. Whatever truth there may be in this story, I am in hopes that the matter will now be completely dropped (8).

Sindhia finally decided to provide his protégé by bestowing a jagir as will be seen from the extracts quoted below from the British Resident's letters:—

"I understand that Sindhia has within these few days offered to settle a jagir of ten lakhs per annum on Chait Singh including Bhind and part of Cutchwagar. It is said that Chait Singh is not satisfied with this provision, and means only to accept of it until something better can be done for him." (9).

"No further application has been made to me since the same period regarding Chait Singh. The district which was proposed to be given him as a jagir in Bhind being situated on the high road and close to the Vizier's frontiers, he has rejected it, and applied for a place on the banks of the river Scind, which was last year reduced from the Rana [of Gohad]. It is called Bijaigarh, and the name, it is said, has influenced Chait Singh in the choice of it. The amount of the intended jagir was at first reported to be ten lakhs. It is now reduced to five, and probably the real revenue will not exceed two or three. The sanads I am to see are not yet

(8) Letter from D. Anderson, Resident with Sindhia, to the Governor-General, dated Camp before Gwalior 8th May, 1783.—*Secret Con.* 29th May 1783, No. 6A.

(9) Letter from D. Anderson, Resident with Sindhia, dated Camp before Gwalior 20th May, 1783.—*Secret Con.* 16th June, 1783, No. 11.

made out. But Chait Singh has sent people to ascertain more accurately the state of the district, and on their return I suppose the grant will take place " (10).

The retirement of Warren Hastings from the Governor-Generalship raised in the mind of Chait Singh hopes of his being restored to the *gadi* of Benares, as we learn from the British Resident's letter:—

" The departure of the late Governor-General for Europe had afforded some grounds of expectation to Chait Singh and his partizans, for his re-establishment at Benares. Mirza Rahim Beg and Madhu Rao Diwan, two of Sindhia's confidential ministers who have chiefly shared in the spoils of his broken fortune, held several consultations on this occasion in conjunction with Himmat Bahadur; and they so far prevailed on Sindhia as to induce him to desire his agent to sound me by proposing several questions in regard to the powers you possessed of altering the arrangements of the late Governor-General and whether it was probable that you would pursue the same system. He went no further and I have great reason to think that he will not renew the subject. Indeed it is with extreme satisfaction I inform you that Sindhia has steadfastly adhered to the assurances he gave me of preventing Chait Singh's introduction to the King. In all public ceremonies in which the whole of the Chiefs in camp have attended and presented their nazars at Court, he has taken particular care that Chait Singh should be kept back; and I have a firm conviction he will continue to adhere to his promise on this occasion, with the same firmness, notwithstanding any attempts that may be made to persuade him to the contrary." (11).

Deprived of his fortune and despairing of restoration through the agency of Mahadji Sindhia, Chait Singh now became anxious to open direct negotiations with the British Resident, as the following extracts will show:—

" Some days ago I was informed by my servants that a chobdar, sent by Chait Singh, wished to speak with me. I refused him admittance on the score of its being impossible that his master could

(10) Letter from D. Anderson, Resident with Sindhia, dated Sindhia's Camp before Gwalior 10th June, 1783.—*Secret Cor.* 30th June, 1783, No. 2.

The following reference to the *jagir* granted to Chait Singh is found in a letter which Sadashiv Dinkar (a trusted agent with Sindhia) addressed in June, 1785 (?) to Nana Fadnavis, who was asked for an official account of the income and disbursements of Mahadji, then in great distress for money:—" I beg to report that the right way of managing affairs is first acquire and then spend: but here this principle is not observed. . . Out of the new territory acquired on the south side of the Chambal, the parganas of Gwalior, Gohad, Blind and Bhadawar, have been handed over for management to Khande Rao Hari on a payment of ten lakhs a year: then territories amounting to five *lakhs* in the highest computation, have been assigned in *jagir* to the Rajah of Benares; a further portion of villages amounting to two lakhs and ten thousand has been handed over to Shivaji Vithal." (Parasnis's *Itihas Sangraha*, Aitihāsik Tipāṇī, v. 9, No. 10).

(11) Letter from Lt. Anderson, dated Sindhia's Camp near Agra 23rd March, 1785.—*Secret Cor.* 9 April, 1785, No. 14.

have any business with me; upon which he sent in a message that he only came to enquire after my health; and that it was his mater's wish, he might be permitted to do so every day. As Chait Singh had never before taken any open steps towards the establishment of an intercourse or the appearance of one between us, I was a good deal surprised on this occasion; but I learn that he has of late expressed more than common discontent and even declared his intention of throwing himself upon the mercy of the Vizier. If he really meditates such an intention, Sindhia will easily be able to divert him from it by holding forth hopes on which he has so long continued to feed him—possibly it is as much for the interest of the Company that he should continue with Sindhia as fly to the Vizier, as in that latter event the hopes and fears of the people at Benares regarding his restoration which have for some time been entirely allayed, might again be roused." (12)

The nature of Chait Singh's connection with Sindhia is described fully in the following letter of Jas. Anderson:—

"All the promises which Sindhia made of never suffering him to appear at his darbar either on public or private occasions, during the presence of the English Resident, and of his never being presented to the King have been faithfully adhered to. In other respects he has affected to pay him considerable attention; but there is every reason to believe that in this, so far as relates to us, he has been actuated by an improper motive. The truth is Chait Singh ever since his arrival in Camp, has been merely a subject of prey to Sindhia and his greedy dependents; and now that little or nothing is left to him, he finds that all their promises and professions have been vain and delusive. On this account he has of late expressed much dissatisfaction and has sometimes talked of quitting the camp. On these occasions, Sindhia has always taken means to soothe him with a number of hopes and assurances; and on these grounds, reports have been constantly propagated and believed in our provinces, of its being his intention to aid Chait Singh in his re-establishment at Benares. Intelligence of this kind has been at times conveyed to me from various channels, but I have thought it prudent not only to avoid any mention of the subject to Sindhia, but even to slight and dis-

(12) Jas. Anderson, to Governor-General, dated Sindhia's camp at Muttra 25th July, 1786.—*Secret Con.* 22nd August, 1786, No. 27.

In another letter, dated Agra 24th December, 1786, the then British Resident with Sindhia, Capt. W. Kirkpatrick, reported to the Governor-General as follows:—

"I conceive it proper to inform your Lordship, that a letter from Rajah Chait Singh was yesterday put into my hands, as I was passing through the town. As it had no seal I asked the bearer from whom he had received it, and though it is probable he had been otherwise instructed, he did not hesitate to acquaint me, upon which I returned it to him unopened."—*Secret Con.* 24th January, 1787, No. 9.

regard it entirely. I am willing to believe that by this means a difficulty has been avoided which by a different line of conduct might have been unnecessarily created. Chait Singh is now completely fallen and none has a more contemptible opinion of him than Sindhia. He knows that he is incapable even of being used as an instrument, and if ever he should dare to make an attempt on the province of Benares, it would be for himself and not for Chait Singh.

"I have been induced to be thus particular on this subject because it is possible that your Lordship may still hear reports of this kind. It is Chait Singh's interest to propagate them, and this he finds it not difficult to effect, from the easy credulity of the people and the means he possesses from some old connections in the provinces. As any solicitude however about these would give them a degree of weight to which they are not otherwise entitled, I am convinced it will be prudent to continue to overlook them entirely " (13).

Chait Singh gradually sank into insignificance and in January 1787 Cornwallis instructed the Resident Kirkpatrick to treat with indifference any attentions which might be shown to the Rajah at the Court of Sindhia:—

"Mr. Anderson was, I find, furnished with positive orders to demand and take his leave of Mahadji Sindhia in case he should introduced Chait Singh to the King. The circumstances which induced the necessity of such rigid injunctions are now changed, and I think it necessary to release your entirely from these orders. The protection originally granted by Sindhia to Chait Singh took place before we entered into any treaty with him and nothing can render Chait Singh of consequence but the anxiety we may manifest regarding him. It seems therefore advisable to treat with perfect indifference any attentions which may be shown to him. All that it is now necessary to exact is that he shall never be suffered to appear, either on public or private occasions, at the King's or Mahadji Sindhia's darbar in your presence (14).

On 19th July, 1787 Kirkpatrick reported from Fattehgarh as follows:—

"I am informed that Chait Singh has deputed one of his confidential servants named Ghulam Husain Khan to Lucknow for the purpose of meeting your Lordship." (15).

I have not found any further reference to Chait Singh in the Public Records. He died at Gwalior in 1810. (16).

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJI.

(13) Jas Anderson to Governor-General Cornwallis, dated Muttra, 19th October, 1786.—*Secret Con.* 24th November, 1786, No. 6.

(14) Lord Cornwallis to Capt. Kirkpatrick,—Resident with Mahadji Sindhia. *Secret Con.* 24th January, 1787, No. 12.

(15) *Secret Proceedings* 28th August, 1787, p. 4248.

(16) Atkinson's *N. W. P. Gazetteer*, Vol. XIV, pt. 1, "Benares."

An Abandoned Port of the Sunderbuns.

(BASED ON THE RECORDS OF THE IMPERIAL RECORD
DEPARTMENT)

AMONG the many interesting facts which the old documents of the archives of the Imperial Record Department present to the historical students

regarding the East India Company's trade in Bengal, few are, perhaps, more significant than the proposal of the

Introduction.

Chamber of Commerce during the rule of Lord Dalhousie to shift "the centre of the Company's Bengal Commerce" from Calcutta to a far-off straggling village of the 24-Pargannas district, called Matla (1), situated on an outlandish river flowing through the wilds of the *Sunderbuns*. Though the records (2) of the eighteenth century shew that the position of the river Hugly "as a highway to the East India Company's commerce in Bengal" has not only been maintained but considerably improved ever since the foundation of Calcutta by Job Charnock in 1690, yet, strange to say, a cry was raised towards the commencement of the rule of Lord Dalhousie that the river in question "was deteriorating and that at no distant date it would render access to Calcutta altogether impracticable for any but vessels of the

Chamber of Commerce's fear re. Calcutta, as a port.

smallest tonnage." Contrary to expectations, the Calcutta

Chamber of Commerce also shared in this fear and they in the year 1853 addressed the Government of Lord Dalhousie on the urgency of establishing a new auxiliary port on the river Matla and linking this port with Calcutta by means of a railway or canal. Although Lord Dalhousie was wise enough not to parti-

Lord Dalhousie acquires land for the Matla port.

cipate in these imaginary fears yet, as a precautionary measure, he resolved to acquire land, for the proposed new port and for this purpose purchased in the year

1853, a big plot of land at the head of the Matla river on the west side, viz., the lot No. 54 of the *Sunderbuns Grants* for rupees 11,000 from the grantee, the whole comprising upwards of 25,000 bighas or 8,000 acres, of which one-seventh was cultivated, the remainder being uncleared jungle. About this time, the adjoining lot having lapsed to Government, a portion, consisting of 650 acres was reserved for building. A committee was appointed to survey and report on the site. Plans for laying out a town were submitted and a position was fixed upon for the terminus of a railway to connect this new port with Calcutta.

(1) Matla is a tongue of land, 24 miles S. E. of Calcutta, round which sweep the collected waters of the Bidyadhari, Karatoya and Athārābanika rivers, forming the Matla estuary, which then takes a fairly straight course southward to the Bay of Bengal.

(2) See Index to the press-lists of the Public Department Records, 1748-1800, p. 182.

As a preliminary to establishing a new town, efforts were made to people it with *ryots* and inhabitants. This was a tedious task and seems to have occupied about six years. The real work in connection with the new port was commenced in the year 1858 and it was named "Port Canning" after the name of Lord Canning—the then Viceroy of India, who, according to Marshman, "treated the whole project with supreme contempt." He, however, with much reluctance allowed this project to take its own course.

Matla port is named "Port Canning".

Sir J. P. Grant, Lieut.-Governor of Bengal visits the site of the Port Canning.

Records (3) inform us that in the month of March, 1859 the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir J. P. Grant, visited the site of the port. In the following elaborate minute he gives the full report of his visit:—

"Minute by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal (dated the 28th May, 1859).

Having visited the site of the proposed Town on the Matlah about three months ago, I take the opportunity of this Report to record, for communication to Mr. Leonard, the following observations and instructions.

2. At the time of my visit the whole lot on which the Town is to stand was protected from the salt water by an embankment, which, although of small height and section, I understand to be better than the ordinary *bund* of a *Sunderbans* grantee. The natural jungle where not cleared was consequently decaying throughout, and rice was to be sown over the jungle land in the approaching rainy season. A road 80 feet wide along the river face was in progress, which is intended also to serve as a permanent embankment, and another road from the river face running inland to join the District Ferry Fund Road which is intended to connect the town with Calcutta, was also in progress. One tank was completed and contained water which might fairly be termed brackish, and another tank, tiled throughout, was completed all except a part of the bottom tiling and contained water still quite salt. The building Lots taken along the river face were all marked out. There was a large Salt *golah* with nothing in it, which I believe never had been used but once.

3. On the water there was a large Custom House Ark with two Custom House Officers on board who had nothing to do; there was a Pilot in the same condition, the river was what seemed very well marked by buoys and there was a floating Light Vessel at the Mutlah Sand Reach of use to no one. The personal establishment for whose services there had been no use since the first unsatisfactory visit of a few ships seemed to me an expense prematurely incurred. I have therefore directed enquiries to be made as to whether there is any chance of a ship visiting the port this season, intending to propose the removal of the most expensive part of it until such progress is made on shore as may lead to a reasonable expectation of vessels again visiting the place. At present, in the absence of shelter,

or water or communication with Calcutta by land, I believe no ship-owner will send his vessel to the Mutlah.

4. Considering the difficulty of obtaining a large supply of labour on the spot and the uncertainty which existed until the other day when the Railway was guaranteed as to the ultimate prospects of the intended Port, though the work done on shore was not much, I do not know that there is much reason to complain of it. But the case is very different now that the Railway has been not only guaranteed but actually commenced. Every exertion must now be made by the officers of the Public Works Department to have all that Government has to do in the way of preparatory arrangements completed by the time when the Railway is expected to be opened which I believe may be calculated at two years hence.

5. It seems to me that the first point to be attended to is the provision of fresh water. There is an idea of laying down water pipes along the line of Railway from Calcutta or from above Calcutta to the new Port. I believe that nothing short of such a project will suffice to supply the shipping. But in the meantime a provision of fresh water tanks such as is requisite in every Soonderbuns lot is a matter of necessity. It is most essential that no more time should be lost in making so much of this provision as it may be resolved it is incumbent on Government to make in the shape of public tanks, for it takes years to sweeten the water of a new tank. In such a spot, where the whole surface of the country is awash at high water in Spring tides, tanks cannot be too large or too many, as the soil excavated is the only means by which the sites of the houses can be raised above the water line. I wish Mr. Leonard, to whom I have spoken on the subject, to commence as soon as possible next dry season, the excavation of a large oblong tank in the centre of the Plot reserved for the Customs House and Marine Buildings, the earth to be spread over the whole surface of the Plot. At the same time the other public tanks planned may be commenced upon as labour is available. I would increase the size of the tanks that are to form the centres of the squares from 200 to 300 feet. I should be glad to know if a steam pump, whereby the contents of the tanks could be changed oftener than once a year, and thereby the sweetening of the water could be sooner effected would not be useful employed here.

6. I beg Mr. Leonard to consider whether for the purpose of hastening the sweetening of the surface soil and on sanitary grounds, one of the first works next cold weather should not be a system of surface drainage with sluices to be opened at low water twice a day during the rains.

7. The work next in urgency is the completion of the road that is to communicate with Calcutta. Neither the public nor the private preparations which must be made before the Railway is opened, can be satisfactorily made till this road is passable throughout. After the Railway is opened the road will still have its full value as it will be a means of communication between the stations on the line and the country on its borders.

8. An early object should be the securing of the site of the Town against an irruption of salt water during a cyclone. I beg for a well considered report on the vertical height and sectional area of an embankment

which shall give the requisite security against such a calamity so far as scientific and historical enquiry may enable us to form a judgment.

9. A temporary bungalow on the Custom House Plot, a provision of iron tanks to be kept regularly supplied by wholesome fresh water from a distance, and the encouragement of a little *bazar*, to which I suppose nothing will tend more than an arrangement for the gratuitous supply of wholesome water, seem to me all objects worthy of Mr. Leonard's early attention."

From the aforesaid report of the Lieutenant-Governor it will be evident that His Honour, in order to make Port Canning a success, laid great emphasis on two points, *viz.*, (1) Provision for a good and sufficient supply of fresh water and (2) Completion of the highway from Calcutta to this new port which road, as will appear from the records, was already taken in hand in the year 1856. It is interesting to note (4) that to carry out the first object the Government of Bengal sanctioned very soon after the Lieutenant-Governor's visit to Matla a sum of rupees 16,000 for the excavation of two tanks there, each 500 feet long, 300 feet wide and about 8 feet deep. It will further appear from the papers that the charge of the contractor for digging these water reservoirs was five rupees per 1000 feet. The following letter (4) will throw much light on this point:—

"From

RIVERS THOMPSON, Esq.,

Junior Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

To

The Offg. Secretary to the Government of India,

P. W. Department,
Municipal,
Water Supply.

Public Works Department,

Fort William, the 15th August, 1859.

Sir,

In soliciting the sanction of the Government of India to an expenditure of Rupees (16,000) sixteen thousand, as shown in the enclosed Statement, on account of two Tanks at Mutlah, the Lieutenant-Governor desires me to submit the following observations regarding the necessity of the work proposed.

2. A reference to the accompanying copy of a Minute*, recorded by the Lieutenant-Governor after a recent visit to the Matlah Port, will show His Honour's views as to the urgency of providing, among other immediate wants in connection with the opening of the Railway to Mutlah, for a good and sufficient supply of water at this new Station by means of Public Tanks.

3. Considering the difficulty of procuring labour at the spot, and the delay which might attend the prosecution of the work through the usual

(4) P. W. D., O. C. 9 Sept. 1875 No. 1 (and enclosures).

course, the Lieutenant-Governor desired Mr. Leonard, with whom His Honor had spoken on the subject, to commence upon the excavation of such Tanks, as soon as possible, next working season.

4. Mr. Leonard in his capacity of Superintendent of Mutlah Town and Port, now reports that he has entered into a contract for the completion of one large Tank, on terms which he pronounces very favourable; and that, another Contractor having offered on about similar terms, he thinks nothing better can be done than to engage with this man for the second. He estimates the cost of each tank at from 6,000 to 8,000 Rupees.

5. Under these circumstances, the Lieutenant-Governor has sanctioned the amount mentioned in the 1st paragraph of this letter; and trusts that as a special case, it may receive the approval of His Excellency the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) RIVERS THOMPSON.

Junior Secretary to the Governor of Bengal."

5. In connection with the excavation of the tanks in question it was found that the waters which were first stored were salt and unfit for human consumption. So to sweeten and purify the water, Hugh Leonard, the then Superintendent of the Matla port, sent an emergent indent to the Government for the supply of one "No. 4 Gwynne's Centrifugal Pump" attached to a horse power Locomotive engine. The Government agreed to the proposal and sent the indent to England for compliance.

Scheme for
sweetening the salt
waters of the Port
Canning tanks.

6. The following extracts (5) from the records amply repay perusal in connection with Mr. Leonard's scheme for sweetening and purifying salt waters of the above mentioned tanks:—

Extracts from the letter from HUGH LEONARD, Esq., Executive Engineer, Matlah Division, to the Superintending Engineer, 1st Circle, Lower Provinces,—(No. 20, dated the 21st July, 1859).

"Para 2. The water first caught in Tanks dug at the Matlah in salt ground, and void of any fresh water springs or other supply, unless the rain collected from the salt surface, is very salty when the Tank is first filled. The rain falling on the surface and in the Tank washes out some of the salt, and so the water caught in the second season is fresher than that caught in the first. The third season's water is again fresher and so it goes on impuring (sic), so that after three or four years it is generally tolerably good."

" Para 3. If the salt water caught in the tank in the commencement of the rains be at once pumped out, allow the Tank to fill again, again pump it out and so on as often as it may fill, it is thought that as much may be done in one year towards sweetening the water in the Tank as would be done in two or three by letting it fill and evaporate in the usual way. This principle being recognised by the Lieutenant-Governor, he has ordered an Indent to be sent in for a Pump."

The following letter (6), quoted from the records, will supply much information regarding the highroad, for the construction of which the Lieutenant-Governor shewed so much concern in his report of Matla of the 28th May, 1839 (given before).

" From

E. H. Lushington, Esq.,

Offg. Junior Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal,

To

The Secretary to the Govt. of India,

Public Works.
Communications,
Metalled Roads.

Public Works Department,

Fort William, the 25th July, 1859.

Sir,

I am directed to solicit the permission of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council to treat the Road from Calcutta to the Mutlah Port as an *Imperial Road*.

2. This Road was first commenced under the orders of this Government in 1856, when 8,517 Rupees were sanctioned towards its construction from the Convict Labor Fund, and such land directed to be taken as might be found to be requisite under Act X to II of 1850, the Act then in force for such purposes.

3. Since that time further sums have been advanced for this work from the Ferry Fund and Convict Labor Fund, and by these means the Road, so far as the earth-work is concerned, has been completed for the whole distance. The work yet remaining to be done is the metalling of the Road from Barripore to the Mutlah (up to that point the Road as the Barripore Road was formerly metalled and is now in good order); the bridging of the Goar Nuddie; and the construction of a proper Ghaut over the Piale Nuddie; but in consequence of other heavy demands on the two Funds above referred to, there are not only no means forthcoming to carry out these works, but there are none to pay the amount of compensation for the value of the land adverted to in paragraph 2, which has been reported by the Board to be Company's Rs. 5,210-3-0.

4. Apart, however, from this question of want of money, it appears to the Lieut.-Governor that this Road should not be considered as a District Road, but as an Imperial line. The District is not so much benefitted by it as the Port of the Mutlah. The Road is indeed indispensable at present,

and it will be little less useful after the Railway is made as leading to the several Stations. Still it is a Road that would never have been made for merely District objects.

5. Under these circumstances, the Lieutenant-Governor trusts that this application to make the Road an *Imperial* one will meet with His Excellency's sanction, and that authority may at once be given to the payment of the sum of Rupees 5,210-3-0 by the State, for the land for the Road already adverted to.

6. Pending the orders of the Supreme Government on this subject, I am desired to add that the Road has been made over to the Charge of the Executive Engineer Mr. O'Flaherty, who is engaged in preparing Estimates for the work mentioned in paragraph (3).

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) E. H. LUSHINGTON,

Offg. Junior Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal."

It further appears from the papers that three years after the Lieutenant-Governor's inspection of the site of this port, the provisions of the Municipal Act were extended to the town in June 1862 and in the 1863 the whole of the Government proprietary right in the land was made over to the Municipality, in trust for the town of Canning, subject to the control of Government, which reserved to itself the right to take up any land that might be required for public purposes such as a railway station, public offices, etc. Rules were also passed empowering the Commissioners to grant leases and to borrow money on the security of the land but the Government itself decline to advance any loan.

Port Canning, a
Municipal town.

The expenditure necessary for the various works, such as, the cost of laying out and draining the town, constructing roads and protecting the river frontage, etc., was estimated at upwards of 20 lakhs and the Municipality in November, 1863 with the sanction of Government opened a loan of 10 *lakhs* of rupees upon debentures at 5.5 per cent interest repayable in five years. The public, however, subscribed only rupees 265,000.

In the year 1864—a year of speculative mania—Mr. Ferdinand Schiller, one of the Municipal Commissioners proposed to form a Company to be known as "the Port Canning Land investment, reclamation, and Dock Company" which would develop the port and offered to subscribe 2.5 lakhs to the Municipal debenture loan in return for certain concessions.

The proposal having been accepted by Government, the Port Canning Company received the gift of 100 acres of ground freehold in the centre

of the town, and also the exclusive right for 50 years of constructing tramways, wharves and jetties and of levying tolls in connection therewith. Mr. Schiller also undertook on the part of himself and his assignees—(1) to excavate within two years a dock 2,500 feet in length by 200 feet in width and 10 feet in depth on the assigned land; (2) to provide for the conservation and protection of the river bank along the entire length of the Commissioner's property facing the Matla river; (3) to pay the Commissioners one-third of all profits from these works exceeding 10 per cent. The right of purchasing the completed works at original cost at the expiration of fifty years was reserved to the Municipality; and in the event of non-purchase, an extension of the term for another twenty-five years was stipulated. These terms were agreed to by Government and the payment of the loan of £25,000 to the Municipality was made in March, 1865. The Company started work vigorously, laying down lightships, moorings, buoys etc. Its shares, which were issued in 1865, rose to a high figure, but they fell as rapidly as they rose, for it was soon realised that the sanguine expectations of the promoters were not likely to be fulfilled.

In March, 1866, the Government of India consented to a loan of £45,000 on security of the property of the Municipality without interest, repayable in five years, for which debentures were issued bearing dates from April, 1866, to August, 1868. Under the conditions of commutation mentioned above, debentures to the extent of £33,800 were converted for lands.

In the meantime the prospectus of the Port Canning company had been issued in January, 1865, accompanied by an announcement that the share list was closed. The shares rose in value at an unprecedented rate, till they attained a premium of £1,200 in Bombay and £1,000 in Calcutta. It was soon found, however, that the expectations of speculators were not likely to be realized and the shares fell as rapidly as they had risen. Subsequently, disputes arose between the Directors and the Shareholders—the result being that the management of the Company was transferred to other hands.

A dispute also took place between the Company and the Municipality. The former made an application to Commute £25,000 of Municipal Debentures which it held, into land. But the deeds were not executed, although the lots were assigned; and the commutation was deferred till maturity of the debentures and payment of a quit-rent, equivalent to the interest was agreed on. In 1868, when affairs definitely assumed an unfavourable aspect, the Company endeavoured to repudiate the transaction, and brought an action against the Municipality for payment of £2,700 interest on the debentures. The latter resisted the claim, on the ground that the company had agreed to commute the debentures for certain lands in the town of Canning. The Company gained the suit in the first instance; but on appeal the order was reversed and the commutation was declared to be valid. The Company, however, have not entered into possession of their lands, and an appeal is said to have been preferred to the Privy

Council in England. In 1870, the Secretary of the Company addressed Government urging upon it the duty of redeeming the debentures which the Municipality had failed to meet. The Government, in reply, declined to do so. Thus the whole of the Canning Port Municipal Estate was attached and made over to the Collector of the 24 Parganas, who was appointed Manager.

Improvements of the town by the Port Canning Company.

The following were the principal works undertaken and executed either partially or completely by the Canning Company started by F. Schiller to improve the port:—

- (1) A wet dock, 3,500 by 400 feet for the accommodation of country boats.
- (2) The protection from erosion of the Matla foreshore.
- (3) Seven landing wharves and iron jetties, each capable of accommodating two ships at a time.
- (4) Goods Sheds and tramways in connection with the jetties.
- (5) A "gridiron" and graving dock for repairing vessels.
- (6) The rice mills, constructed on an extensive scale, capable of husking and turning out about 90,000 tons of rice a year.

Number of ships which visited the port.

The number of ships that visited the port since its opening in 1861-2 down to the year 1870-71 (the closing year of this port) was as follows:—

Year.				Ships.
(a) 1861-2	...	...	...	none.
(b) 1862-3	...	...	...	1
(c) 1863-4	...	...	...	11
(d) 1864-5	...	...	...	14
(e) 1865-6	...	...	...	26
(f) 1866-7	...	...	...	20
(g) 1867-8	...	...	...	9
(h) 1868-9	...	...	...	1
(i) 1869-70	...	...	...	2
(j) 1870-1	...	...	...	none.

Thus it will be evident from the above list of the arrivals of the vessels at the Canning port that since the year 1870, no sea-going ships have anchored at this place; and the arrivals of 1867-8 may be looked upon as the last response of the Mercantile Community to the endeavours made by the Port Canning Company to raise this town to the position of a port auxiliary to Calcutta.

We further find from the papers that the Port Canning Establishment has, all along, been a heavy and unprofitable charge to Government. In 1869-70, the cost of this port amounted to £15,700 while the receipts were only £1,134. This was

Port Canning proves a big failure.

exclusive of the charges for special survey and arsenal stores. Considering the hopeless position of this port, the then Lieutenant-Governor, Sir G. Campbell, in June 1871, recommended that the earliest opportunity should be taken of officially closing the port and withdrawing the establishments, with the exception of the light vessel outside which might be of use to ships from the eastward and might occasionally guide a weather-beaten vessel to a safe anchorage. These recommendations were adopted and shortly afterwards the Government moorings were taken up and the port officially was declared closed. Gradually after the year 1871, Port Canning fell into rapid decay. The Commissioner of the *Sunderbuns* in a report dated the 10th April, 1873 writes:—"With the exception of the Agent and others employed by the new Port Canning Land Company and a *dāk munshi*, no one lives at Canning."

The line of railway connecting Port Canning with Calcutta, 28 miles distant, proved a failure from the very outset. Upon the collapse of the Company it was taken over by Government as a State line. It is still worked, but on a very economical scale; its traffic now consists almost solely of firewood, bamboos and fish from the *Sunderbuns*.

Thus the chimerical project of establishing a flourishing port within the heart of the *Sunderbuns* wilderness, which would beat Calcutta in maritime prosperity, ended in a well-deserved fiasco within 18 years after its inception.

BASANTA KUMAR BASU,

Imperial Record Dept., Calcutta.

The Colours of some Mutinous Bengal Regiments.

WHAT happened to the colours of the hundred or so units of the Bengal Army which mutinied in 1857?

To answer this question is difficult if not impossible. It seems to have received little consideration; and it is safe to say that the fate of the majority of the stands of colours of the mutinous regiments will never now be definitely ascertained. Records exist of certain colours having been recaptured from the mutineers; and some of these may have passed into private hands as trophies. It is remarkable that mutinous units continued to carry their colours after they seceded: one would suppose that they would have discarded these emblems of the authority of the British and of the Company. Colonel Gimlette's recent book—*A Postscript to the Records of the Indian Mutiny* (1)—contains several incidental references to the loss or recovery of such colours.

The author had seen some colours in the Arsenal at Khatmandu, where he was stationed from 1883 to 1888. He says that the Nepalese authorities passed these off as having been captured from the British forces in the Nepal War of 1814; but gives no further details of them. With the publication of the late Percival Landon's monumental and semi-official work on *Nepal* (2), however, a more positive identification of these colours is possible. Landon describes and identifies four colours or stands of colours, and describes a fifth colour of which the identity is far from positive. As regards this last colour the present writer will put forward a rather more definite suggestion as to its identification. The four colours of which the provenance is undoubted are as follows:—

3rd Bengal Native Infantry.

This unit mutinied at Phillaur on 8 June 1857; and its remnants were annihilated at Bijapur, near Guna, on 4 September 1858. How its colour got from Central India to Khatmandu is therefore difficult to explain. It is the Company's colour alone which is in the Arsenal Museum there—"a yellow flag with the Union Jack cantoned" in the upper left hand corner. "The arms of the H. E. I. C. are encircled by a wreath, above which are the words 'Buxar Regt. Native Inf.' Below are the honours 'Guzerat, Punjab', given 'For services performed in the West of India.'

The disposal of the regimental colour of this battalion is a mystery.

(1) London, Witherby, 1927.

(2) London, Constable, 2 Vols., 1928.

48th Bengal Native Infantry.

This was one of the regiments which fought both outside and inside the Lucknow Residency, the majority having mutinied and the loyal minority doing sterling service in the defence of the Residency. The mutinous portion joined the Nana Sahib.

Both its colours are now in Khatmandu, and are fully described by Landon. The *Queen's* colour (*sic*—obviously the Company's colour) is a square or nearly square Union Jack, bearing in the centre a square plaque with the words

1803	Ghuznee	XLVIII
Afghanistan	Moodkee	Alliwal
	Ferozeshuhur	

The regimental colour is a yellow flag "similar to the Colour of the 3rd B. N. I. described above.

It is safe to say that this stand of colours must have accompanied the straggling remnants of the Nana's following, and have eventually been taken by the Nepalese in the Terai.

8th Regiment Infantry, Oudh Irregular Force.

Mutinied at Sultanpur, 9 June 1857; fought against the British at Chinhut, and took part in the siege of Lucknow. According to Landon, there is in Khatmandu "a white flag, . . . of rectangular shape. In the upper left-hand corner there is a canton of the Union Jack. In the centre is a wreath enclosing the arms of the H. E. I. C. Within the wreath are the words "Oude Irregular Infantry," and above the wreath the number 'VIIIth'."

This is of course the regimental colour. The fate of the Company's colour—if indeed the infantry of the Oudh Irregular Force possessed Company's colours—is unknown. There is no evidence as to how this colour got to Khatmandu.

5th Infantry, Gwalior Contingent.

There is little on record regarding this battalion, one of the seven in the Contingent, which comprised all arms. It apparently mutinied at Agar, in Gwalior State, in 1857. Both its colours are in Khatmandu, and are fully described by Landon.

The unidentified colour, of which mention has already been made, is a regimental colour, of green silk, with no other aid to identification. The silk now existing has obviously been renewed in Nepal, and no importance can therefore be attached to the exact shade of green. Landon, by a process of elimination of the mutinous infantry units which bore green facings of one shade or another, comes to the conclusion that it belonged to one or another of the following battalions—6th, 7th, 10th, 13th, 23rd, 28th, 29th, 38th, 45th, 46th, 51st, 52nd, 60th regiments of Bengal Native Infantry, or the Ludhiana Sikhs. He does not pursue the question further. The present writer has followed up the history of each of these battalions, and offers the following remarks.

It is suggested that the 28th and 45th B. N. I. may be eliminated. The colours of the 28th, B. N. I. were, according to Colonel Gimlette, found wrapped round the dead body of a mutinous subedar on the battlefield of Mannahar, 20 April 1858. The colours of the 45th B. N. I. were thrown away, after the battalion had mutinied on the march between Faridkot and Delhi, 14 May 1857. As regards only one other of the possible regiments is there any positive record of their colours after they had mutinied—the 10th B. N. I. laid its colours at the feet of the Nawab of Farrukhabad, presumably as an act of fealty. Nothing more was ever heard of the unit or its colours,—so the possibility of the Khatmandu flag being that of the 10th B. N. I. cannot entirely be dismissed, though it is remote.

It is extremely improbable that the colour could be that of the 51st B. N. I., which was disarmed at Peshawar and never actually mutinied; or of the 60th which was broken up at Karnal at the end of August 1857. Of the remainder, the 7th B. N. I. entirely disappeared and nothing is known of its fate; the 13th like the 48th fought both inside and outside Lucknow, and from the circumstances of its partial mutiny it is at least possible that it handed in its colours before breaking up; the 23rd seems to have joined the Indore Brigade but history is vague as to its end. The 29th B. N. I. fought in the Rohilkhand Brigade inside Delhi; the 38th was cut up at Badli-ki-Sarai; the 46th was annihilated by Nicholson in July '57; and the 52nd, which mutinied at Jubbulpore, fought in Central India. No question, so far as the writer knows, has ever been raised of the Ludhiana Sikhs having lost their regimental colour in the Mutiny.

There remains the 6th B. N. I. of which it is definitely recorded that its last remnants were cut up on the Nepal Frontier in 1858. This is thus the only one of the units to which the Khatmandu colour may have belonged which is known to have come to an end in the actual vicinity of Nepal. There is no evidence which would warrant the ascription of the Khatmandu colour to any particular regiment. The writer contends that the 28th, 45th, 51st, and 60th B. N. I. may be eliminated from the problem; and of those which remain to be considered the superior probability is in favour of the 6th B. N. I. But in the absence of evidence, any more definite ascription would be mere surmise.

13th Regt. Bengal Native Infantry.

Mutinied (in part) at Lucknow in 1857. Its colours were not carried off by the mutineers. The loyal remnants of the battalion were, with others, formed after the Mutiny into the *Wafedar paltan*, which as the "17th Infantry (The Loyal Regiment)" was finally disbanded in 1922.

The colours came to light about 1920 in the former Bridgehead Defended Post at Cawnpore (since 1862 the Harness and Saddlery Factory), where they still are. They are about 5 ft. by 6 ft. 6 ins., and are in a very dilapidated condition. The Queen's colour is of the ordinary pattern, whilst the Regimental colour is of green silk, bearing the Royal Arms in the centre surrounded by the battle honours "Mysore", "Punjab", "Guzerat", and "Goojerat".

Authority: information kindly supplied by Lieut.-Col. L. C. Larmour.

51st Regt. Bengal Native Infantry.

Disarmed for mutiny at Peshawar on 22 May 1857. Its colours were lodged in the Peshawar magazine some time after 29 August 1857, but their present whereabouts is not known.

Authority: *Mutiny Records, Correspondence, Part II, Lahore Govt. Press, 1911, p. 43.*

55th Regt. Bengal Native Infantry.

Mutinied at Nowshera in May 1857, and marched away from the station taking their colours with them. The colours were recaptured on 24 May 1857 near Hoti Mardan by a column under the command of Colonel J. Chute. Their present location is not known.

Authority: *Mutiny Records, Correspondence, Part I, Lahore Govt. Press, 1911, pp. 71, 87-88.*

56th Regt. Bengal Native Infantry.

This regiment (with two others) lost its colours at the battle of Gujerat on 21 February 1849. One of them was recaptured later in the battle by Sepoy Raghunath Dube of the Grenadier Company of the 70th B. N. I. (now—1929—the 5th Bn. 7th Rajput Regt.), and handed back to the 56th. Their present location is not known.

Authority: *Historical Records of the XI Rajputs, Allahabad, 1913.*

71st Regt. Bengal Native Infantry.

Mutinied at Lucknow in May 1857. Its colours were recaptured on 16 November 1857, at the Sinkandrabagh, Lucknow, by the 93rd Highlanders. Their present location is not known.

Authority: *Reminiscences of the Great Mutiny*, by Wm. Forbes Mitchell, London, 1894.

Information regarding the present resting-place of other colours of mutinous Bengal regiments is asked for.

H. BULLOCK.

A Proposal for the establishment of an Improved system of Telegraphic Com- munication, by Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonald of the E. I. Co^y.’s Military Service.

From papers in the possession of his great-great-granddaughter
Mrs. A. C. Robertson (1).

THE great war against the French Republic, and against Napoleon Bonaparte brought very acutely before the minds of naval and military men the necessity of inventing some method for the rapid transmission of messages. Signalling has from early times been a study of mankind: some savage communities possess methods of accurate and long distance communication which are not understood by communities far better mentally equipped, for instance the drumming signals of the African tribes: these and similar methods are known to every one who reads the histories and records of travellers. In Europe, at the close of the eighteenth-century signalling had not progressed beyond the stage of semaphores, and even the semaphore system in use laboriously spelt out words. The navy had a system of flag signalling which was in advance of the system used on land and of which the chief feature was the use of a code: it will be remembered that "England" was substituted for "Nelson" in the famous Trafalgar signal because there was a code flag for England, whereas "Nelson" would have required spelling out by flags.

Among the officers who were working at the close of the 19th century on improving the signalling system were Admiral Sir Home Popham, and Lieut.-Colonel John Macdonald of the East India Company's service.

By the kindness of Colonel Macdonald's great-great-granddaughter I have been able to see the correspondence in which this officer tried to obtain recognition, not only by the Company, but by almost every Government in Europe of his system of telegraphy. It is interesting to note that Colonel Macdonald's book is called "Telegraphic Communication," although the use of electricity for telegraphic purposes was not at that time understood in Europe.

(1) Cf. Also Imperial Record Dept. General Letters of July 1st, September 10th, and October 26th, 1818.

Imperial Gazetteer Vol. III, p. 437 (note).

Bengal: Past & Present, Vol. II, No. 3, July 1908.

"Places of Historic Interest in the Hooghly Dist."

Colonel Macdonald, who retired from the Company's Service in 1797, had been Chief Engineer and Commandant of Artillery at Sumatra. He was a man of considerable scientific attainments and was a Fellow of the Royal Society as well as belonging to other scientific associations. He had an inventive turn of mind and invented a system of fuses for artillery purposes that received much attention and was tested by the order of the Master-General of Ordnance, at Woolwich before a Board of General and Field Officers of the Royal Artillery, but the system was rejected. He was also interested in music.

In 1806 Colonel Macdonald submitted to the Admiralty "a project of a telegraphic system," to use his own words. It did not attract favourable attention so Colonel Macdonald published a treatise on telegraphic communication and to "evince the practicability and facility of his system he wrote two dictionaries, one of which lies at the Admiralty, the other at the House Guards." These "dictionaries" or codes, as we should now call them were accompanied by various models by means of which, with the assistance of the "dictionaries" experiments could be made to test or demonstrate the efficacy of the system. Lord Mulgrave who was First Lord of the Admiralty under Lord Liverpool referred the matter to Mr. Barrow, a distinguished scientist, who declared the system of Colonel John Macdonald to be by much the best of more than fifty submitted to the Admiralty and that the "dictionary" would supply a very marked want. Mr. Barrow wrote as follows. "Southampton, 1st September 1814. Dear Sir. . . I have no hesitation in saying that your system of telegraphic communications embraces everything that can possibly be desired and much more than we have any occasion for it its application to Naval purposes, as far as the Admiralty is concerned: but I think it will be found most admirably adapted for carrying on a correspondence between the interior frontier line of India and the several Presidencies; and it has very frequently occurred to me that such lines of communication would be of infinite use to give timely notice of unexpected or sudden movements of the neighbouring Powers" Similar approval was received from the Adjutant-General of the Army, and the system was explained by the inventor when he exhibited it to H.R.H. the Duke of York, Commander-in-Chief.

Previous to these marks of approval by the military and naval authorities, the system had been brought to the notice of the East India Company in 1811 by one of the Directors. The Court of Directors instructed the Committee of Shipping, assisted by certain co-opted experts to examine it. Colonel Macdonald on many occasions explained in person to this Committee how his system work, giving actual experiments: the result of these sittings was a somewhat guarded expression of approval by the Committee, worded as follows.

East India House, 20th June, 1811.

Sir, the Committee of Shipping of the East India Company have directed me to express their thanks for the explanation you favoured them

with respecting your invention of boarded telegraphs for land communication and to acquaint you that the Committee consider the same very ingenious and appearing in their judgment to possess great advantages over the common telegraph.

(Sd.) J. MORRICE.

The system was apparently opposed by Mr. Joseph Cotton, at one time Chairman of the Board of Directors. Mr. Cotton preferred the system invented or improved by a Captain Lynes, and he used his great influence with the Board to obtain the adoption of this system. Colonel Macdonald felt that Mr. Cotton had not dealt very fairly with him and his correspondence shows that this view was shared by others, notably Sir McGregor Murray. The naval telegraphic plan for which Mr. Cotton succeeded in obtaining the Company's patronage was, according to Colonel Macdonald's view, a much inferior system unsupported by any of the impressive commendations which he had obtained for his own. A somewhat caustic correspondence between Mr. Cotton and Colonel Macdonald ensued in which Colonel Macdonald appears to have had distinctly the best of the argument, but, in his own words, "it was found indispensably necessary to terminate the correspondence as the Chairman (Mr. Cotton) either would not or could not reply to it;" but he fired a parting shot in a letter to Mr. W. F. Elphinstone in which he points out that the Company's Committee of Shipping had approved of his system and that the Chairman was deliberately ignoring the recorded opinion of the Committee whose opinion should naturally carry the most weight in deciding on matters of such a nature, and that "Mr. Cotton, the avowed patron of a publication which has deprived me of a clean right, will find himself egregiously mistaken if he thinks that I am to be intimidated into a duty that I owe to my own reputation and to the Public, independent of the decided justice of my claims." So the old warrior was left, firing his guns to the last, and evidently making a great nuisance of himself, to judge from the mass of non-committal acknowledgments which he received from various eminent people to whom he sent copies of his book. These included most of the Crowned heads of Europe, including the Kings of Prussia, Spain, France and the Netherlands, as well as various Foreign Ambassadors: among the English notabilities who received and acknowledged copies were H.R.H. the Duke of York, Lords Mulgrave, Bathurst, Liverpool Melville, Castlereagh, the Dukes of Portland, and Buckingham, Sir Charles Wood, Sir Home Popham, Sir Richard Bickerton, etc., the collection of papers making a fine array of autographs of some of the most distinguished figures in a great period of English history. According to Colonel Macdonald (2) he worked for nearly a year, for 8 hours daily, on his "dictionary," during which he had "gone twice over Johnson's large dictionary with a close attention."

(2) Col. Macdonald seems to have been the first man to see the necessity of a code; although our system of code flags had been in use for some time in the Navy.

We must now turn to the "Dictionary," of which a copy exists in the Imperial Library in Calcutta, and most readers will feel some sympathy for Mr. Joseph Cotton's attitude towards the scheme which he was called upon to examine for it was extremely complicated: the preface to the book, however, concluded with a paragraph which will find a grateful echo in the hearts of all Government Servants in India: "Early habits of application and study" it states, "render your civil and military servants in India a very superior description of men, as is sufficiently evinced by the integrity and ability marking their conduct, by a multiplicity of works distinguished by profound thought, deep knowledge, lucid arrangement and elegant diction." With this satisfactory opinion of himself and his colleagues Lieut.-Colonel John Macdonald proceeds to explain his system.

He saw quite rightly that the process of spelling by semaphore was "a creeping, operose and tedious process," to use his own words. A numerical system was therefore the best basis on which to work, and to attempt improvement. But, in his desire, to provide for all possible eventualities, Colonel Macdonald overloaded his system of semaphoric telegraphy to an extent that made it hardly less tedious than signalling by letters. It had to be accompanied by a code book twice the size of any code book now in existence divided up into a series of numerical classes, which were in turn again divided numerically until the very object for which telegraphy exists namely, the rapid transmission of information, was cramped by the very intricate rules that accompanied the new method. Colonel Macdonald also invented what he called the military anthro-po-telegraph for field service, which seems to have been, inspite of its cumbersome name, a valuable method on which the present system of "flag-wagging" is based. The necessity of signalling by night was not forgotten, and Colonel Macdonald contrived to make this even more complicated than his methods of signalling by day. The night system required the erection of many pillars, each representing a numerical class. Those who are interested in the study of early telegraphic systems will find it well worth their time to consult and study the book in which Colonel Macdonald sets forth his theories and inventions: its full title is "a treatise explanatory of a new system of naval, military, and political telegraphic communication, of general application.

"By John Macdonald, Esq., F.R.S., F.Ac.S., late Lieut.-Colonel
and Engineer."

As has been said, the system was refused by the East India Company much to the chagrin and annoyance of its inventor who, rightly or wrongly, considered that its rejection was due to Mr. Joseph Cotton's influence. He was not however discouraged, and in 1818 he wrote a long letter to the Earl of Liverpool, then Prime Minister of England, urging him to use his influence to have the system adopted at the Admiralty, and explains at great length its superiority over any other system. The letter closes in a curious manner, by suddenly referring to a subject which has, even in a most indirect

way, only the faintest connection with signalling and telegraphy: the passage is as follows:

"In looking over copies of my various letters to your Lordship I find that in July 1815 I used the freedom of recommending the island of St. Hilda as a more secure place of confinement for Bonaparte than St. Helena. A considerable residence in the Latter island while waiting for a passage convinced me of the easy probability of escape from it. If ever this is attempted, it will be by the French in his interests and (3) who are, now, residing in America. The undertaking would be daring but not of very difficult execution. The vessells intended for the purpose would be provided with a steam apparatus. This would enable a considerable Force employed to land simultaneously and with an allowed loss, in several places. The future disturber of the Peace of Europe might easily be thus rescued by a coup de main; while our Naval Force on the Station *could not move*, and while the Military stationed on the higher ground, at a great distance from the Valley (sic) of Government, would be utterly unable to cope with the invaders. Man is an animal of habits, be they good or be they bad. A great majority of the present generation in France are attached to this Scourge of Europe. His appearance in France would renovate all the horrors which are past. Every possible argument is in favour of removing him to St. Hilda, from which escape would be utterly impossible, as the island is not assailable or in any way practicable for a landing in force. I have explained this serious subject to intelligent men who know both situations, and they perfectly coincide with me in my opinion."

The rest of the story of this invention is best told in the appended letters: no one who reads through the correspondence will fail to feel sympathy with this pertinacious and public-spirited officer in his attempts to obtain recognition for the device which he convinced himself was for the benefit of his country: at the same time the sighs of weariness which his handwriting obviously evoked in the Public Offices can almost be said to cling to the correspondence which his descendant, Mrs. A. C. Robertson, has so kindly permitted me to examine.

R. B. RAMSBOTHAM.

APPENDED LETTERS.

I.

Sir,

Having laid before the Court of Directors of the East India Company your letter advising the delivery of fifty copies of your general system of Telegraphic Communication, I have to acquaint you that agreeably to the intimation conveyed to you in my letters of the 9th April 1816, a warrant

(3) This sentence is given as it stands; its meaning is obvious, but the wording is obscure.

for the sum of four hundred pounds now lies in the Company's Treasury payable to you on account of the said publication.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

JAMES COBB, Secy.—.

EAST INDIA HOUSE;
The 10th May 1817.

COLONEL JAMES MACDONALD.

II.

"Extract.—Public letter to Bengal, dated the 3rd September 1817.

5. Lieutenant-Colonel John Macdonald formerly of our Military Service having composed a work describing a general system of telegraphic communications, which has been approved of by persons of consideration here, we thought it right to encourage him to print the work, and having received from him a certain number of copies of it, we now transmit them to our different Presidencies that they may come under the observation of Men whose employment or studies have led them to the consideration of subjects of that nature, and we desire to be informed of the benefit which may be derived from them by our service.

6. You will receive 70 copies of the work together with one set of the models described in the work and intended to exemplify the principles of it."

"Sent per licensed ship Monarch, 6th September 1817."

The books duly arrived, and were acknowledged by the General Dept. of the Company in a letter, dated July 1st, 1818, the copies being distributed to the various branches of the Military Department. The models of the semaphores were acknowledged in a letter, dated September 10th, 1818, and were sent to the Telegraphic Committee for a detailed report on their merits, both as compared with the system then in use and with other models recommended to the Company.

The Telegraphic Committee submitted their report on October 26th, 1818; it is a lengthy and exhaustive document which commences with a history of semaphoring from the earliest times. This report, though signed and submitted by the Telegraph Committee, was really written by Captain G. Swiney, the Secretary of the Committee; an officer, I imagine, after Colonel Macdonald's own heart, being as enthusiastic on the subject and prolix upon paper as the Colonel himself.

The gist of the report was that Colonel Macdonald's semaphore was an unnecessarily large instrument, unfit for the country; its construction was such that the wings, shutters and pulleys employed were very liable to be affected by the action of heat and moisture. Moreover it was too complicated in design; the first requisite of a good telegraphic system was to establish and put into use "an apparatus of a nature so simple as to render the

chances of embarrassment very improbable," in other words, Government wanted a simple, fool-proof instrument, impervious to the action of weather, and easily worked by Indian troops. The report was therefore unfavourable "to the establishment of Colonel Macdonald's system but his publication must be admitted to contain much useful information and his invaluable dictionary in particular, if adopted to a different system of Enumeration would prove of the most essential service."

III.

The last letter is terser and less complimentary. It runs as follows:
Admiralty, 8th February 1819.

Sir, I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th instant in which you suggest that you should be authorised to examine and report upon all the plants which have been received at the Admiralty Office respecting Telegraphic Communication. Having no reason to suppose that the Public Service would be benefitted by such an examination, I do not feel myself at liberty to recommend to the Board of Admiralty a compliance with your suggestion.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and humble servant,

MELVILLE.

R. B. R.

More Hastings Letters.

A FRESH batch of letters from Warren Hastings were published in *The Times* of December 12, 1928. These are four in number and were all written during the year 1776. Along with them were printed two letters from Sir Archibald Campbell, who had been Chief Engineer at Calcutta—"a situation of prodigious emolument," according to William Hickey (Vol. II, p. 157)—from 1768 to 1772 and returned to England in the latter year. The recipient in each case was John Stewart who had been "employed under one of the principal Secretaries of State and entrusted with affairs of the most confidential kind" up to the year 1768 when he seems to have gone out to Calcutta (1). He became Secretary to the Council at Fort William, and in a letter written on November 11, 1772 to Laurence Sullivan, his confidant on the Court of Directors (and Clive's old antagonist) Hastings mentions the fact: "Stewart has possession of his place as Secretary and is of great relief to me." In the same year, however, Hastings created the office of Judge Advocate General, and Stewart, whom he appointed to it, held it from 1773 to 1776, when he left India.

Campbell who married Stewart's niece (the daughter of Allen Ramsay the painter) returned to India in 1786 as Governor of Fort Saint George but resigned his post on account of ill-health in 1789. He was member of Parliament for the Stirling Burghs from 1789 until his death in 1791. There is a portrait of him at Government House, Madras, which is supposed to be the work of Tilly Kettle. Kettle certainly painted a portrait of Warren Hastings for Stewart. It is very similar in composition to the picture, also by Kettle, which was purchased for the National Portrait Gallery in June 1859 at the Sullivan sale (2); but there is no turned-over shirt collar, as in the latter picture. It was engraved in line for the *European Magazine* of 1782 and was then stated to be "an original painting by Kettle in the possession of Mrs. Maitland." Mr. Cortlandt MacGregor, to whom it ultimately passed, sold it by auction during the summer of 1928. A reproduction of the painting will be found in Miss Monckton Jones' book

(1) The date 1768 is the one mentioned in *The Times*. Miss Monckton Jones in her book on *Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774* (Clarendon Press 1918) says (p. 357) that Stewart arrived in Calcutta on August 29, 1772. Hastings assumed the Government of Bengal on April 9, 1772.

(2) Stephen Sullivan, the son of Laurence Sullivan, went out to Madras as a writer in 1778 and came up to Calcutta from that place in September 1780 in H. M. S. *Nymphé* with his wife, bringing the Madras Council's despatches regarding Baillie's disaster at Pollilore. Thereafter he is mentioned more than once by Hastings in his correspondence as "My Secretary, Mr. Sullivan." His wife seems to have been a sister of Samuel Davis (Farington Diary, August 28, 1807). The picture by Kettle descended to his son the Right Hon. Laurence Sullivan (1783-1866) who succeeded him at Ponsborne Manor in Herefordshire and who for some years was Under Secretary at the War Office.

on "Warren Hastings in Bengal, 1772-1774" (Clarendon Press, 1918). Hastings is represented as a young man, the bust is facing the spectator, the head is tilted slightly to the right. The left elbow rests on a table and the hand which is doubled to show the knuckles, supports the cheek. The right hand hangs below the knee. The dress is reddish brown in colour, and the waistcoat is partly open to show the white neck-cloth, and shirt, which has a turned down collar. The sleeves of the coat have white ruffles. Both this picture and the other were probably painted at Calcutta between the years 1772 and 1776.

The letters, which are the property of Mr. Cortlandt MacGregor, are wrapped in a much worn sheet which bears the address:

Miss Blackwood

Lady Blackwood

T. B. Rous (3).

Bath

There is also an endorsement: 4 letters, 1776-77, Warren Hastings, Esqr., Govr. General.

The first of the series in point of time is from Campbell to Stewart and is dated London, February 14, 1774; and in the course of it Campbell writes in a spirit of wholly inaccurate prophecy:—

On my arrival in England I had a long conference with Lord North; Mr. Hastings was much the subject of His Lordship's enquiries, and I spoke honest truths of his valuable qualifications. It however reached my Ears that a Certain Gentleman's friends (Mr. B.) had been industrious in propagating your late feuds at Calcutta to the discredit of Mr. Hastings, and it so nettled my Highland Pride I used the liberty to abuse the insinuation without reserve or delicacy. Mr. Hastings, I took care, stands with my old Commander Genl. Clavering in the most favourable light; and as their tempers are similar I doubt not unanimity will be the consequence.

This Clavering is one of the most Moderate, Steady, Sensible Worthy men that ever broke the bread of life; his very appearance will please, and when you know the good qualities of his Heart you will like him as well as I do. Above all men study to be well with this man; he knows your character and I am sure he will distinguish your merit because he regards Justice. Monson I am not known to, but he is allowed to be an honourable man, although perhaps of too hasty principles as a Member to rule; but this I do not say as my own ideas.

Francis is a shrewd sensible man, I am little known to him also, but upon the whole they promise fair to act in concert with propriety and good conduct.

(3) Thomas Bates Rous had been the captain of an East Indiaman, the *Britannia*, and was a Director of the East India Company from 1773 to 1779. He was returned to the House of Commons "under the patronage of Clive" as Member for Worcester City in 1773.

The three new Councillors sailed in the *Earl of Ashburnham* from St. Helens in the Isle of Wight on April 1, 1774, and arrived at Madras on September 21 and off Kedgerree on October 14, taking their seats in Council at Fort William on October 20, two days before Sir Elijah Impey and his colleagues of the Supreme Court sat for the first time at the Old Court House. Campbell's estimate of their character may be correct; but his expectations with regard to their relations with Hastings went singularly wide of the mark.

On March 2, 1775, Campbell writes again to Stewart from London. He was now in Parliament as member for the Stirling Burghs (1774-1780) and discusses the prospects of the American War with equal want of political acumen:—

American Affairs have occupied the attention of our wisest Heads this winter—Parlt. have come to the resolution of enforcing a due obedience from our colonies to the Legislative Authority of this country, and the resolution happily begins to show a Dawn of hope of an Amicable Termination—Ten thousand men are under Orders with a large fleet of ships for America to bring the Insurgents of the Massachusetts Bay to reason, and the Province of New York has by an express arrived yesterday actually declared in favour of Government, in opposition to the unwarrantable proceedings of the Bostonians. A short time I hope will bring about the same wise sense from the other Provinces without any Bloodshed.

The four letters of Hastings to Stewart were written when Stewart had returned to England. The first, dated Calcutta, January 23, 1776, is in the following terms:—

Mr. Van (4) will show you a new Composition, which I like much. I hope you will. I know you wd. but for that abominable affair of yr. Mandamus! But the [Supreme] Court is yet the Palladium of this country.—My Minutes flag most sadly:—I mean my Answers to yrs. wch go to ye Court of Dirs—but I think theirs still keep yr. Distance below me.—Not that I have ye least vanity. But it is proper yt [that] evry one sd be served according to his Rank, as Mons Richard said, when he insisted on adding four base pipes to my Organ, because Mr. Aldersey's (though he was only Presidt. of the Bd. of Trade) had more Notes than mine had.

The second letter, which is a long one, is dated Belvidere, March 27, 1776, and the following passages from it are printed in *The Times*:—

You have gained your Cause, and what have you gained by it? I I send you a Letter of Introduction to Lord Md [Mansfield] which

(4) George Vansittart, with whom Hastings always remained on friendly terms. He had come out to Bengal as a writer in 1761 and retired about the year 1776 with a large fortune, with which in 1780 he purchased Bisham Abbey in Berkshire (a favourite county with Anglo-Indians of the time and known as the "English Hindustan.") He was M. P. for Berkshire from 1784 to 1812. Vansittart Row in Calcutta seems to have been named after him.

is the *first* of the Kind I ever wrote to him. I have told him you were a little warped, but able to give him a World of useful Information, much in my Confidence, and an *Eye Witness* of all our Debates. . . .

You say not a Word of my Plan of Justice, which I suppose G. V. [George Vansittart] had forgot to shew you, & I am sorry for it, because I am more pleased with it than with any Work of my own since ye Treaty of Benaris, and I sd have been glad to have recd your Sents upon it, and such Addns as you might have thot of, to mend it with this Dispatch.—It is much mended however having occupied more of my Time & Thoughts since than any other Subject.—Sir Elijah has with incomparable Dispatch and Ability turned it into ye Form of an Act of Parlt, and unless I am disappointed of it by unforeseen Delays I hope to send it cut and dry for ye Ct of Dirs to get it passed at once into an Act. I do not believe it will be objected to. The Judges are to meet to give their Opinion upon it to-morrow. It is very voluminous. . . .

Coll Upton (5) has finished his Negotiations. Salsette & ye other Islands are given up to Us, w all Baroch & 3 Lacks of Country adjoining, ye Expences of ye War to be reimbursed to ye Co and Ragoba allowed a scanty Salary, which is is probable he will not accept. Coll Upton advised Us in a Letter of ye 6th Febry yt [that] ye Ministers had peremptorily declared for War unless he consented to give up every Thing, and ye Day was fixed for his Departure. Great Preparations were made here for War, and all ye Chiefs of Indostan invited to join us. Luckily ye Letters were not sent, for three Weeks afterwards came his Letter of ye 24th Febry & told Us that they had agreed to ye Treaty on his own Condns [conditions] wch give up to them every Thing which We had not, and accept the Cession of all that We hold in our Right. Bassein remains theirs.—Ragoba will most probably withdraw himself from Us, & if he meets wh [with] Partizans who can keep up his Credit but a few Months longer, either Sukkaram Bobboo may die, or his Party fall to pieces, & the Peshwarship devolves upon Ragoba of Course, and with him ye whole Mahratta Empire will be united against Us. I sd have said yt ye Lands about Baroch wch they have yielded to Us belong to Futty Sing who is independent of them. I do not know how Sindia & Hulkar are disposed to Ragoba. If they take part wh

(5) Lt. Colonel John Upton marched across India from Calcutta and back—The treaty of Purandhar (24 miles by road from Poona) was signed with the Peshwa on March 1, 1776. For an account of the proceedings, see *Soldiering in India, 1764-1787*, by W. C. Macpherson (Blackwood, 1927). Captain Allen Macpherson accompanied Upton as Secretary and interpreter and kept a full Journal which is reproduced (pp. 230-316). The Mission returned to Calcutta on March 1, 1777.

him, & Hyder who is his Friend will act with Vigor for him on the other side of Poona, he may yet be victorious. Upon ye whole I fear that Peace is not ensured by ye Treaty, & We have certainly sacrificed the only Opportunity We ever had, or may ever recover to render ye Compy ye Arbiters of that State.—The Company were early advised of ye War, and their Orders may be daily expected. I can scarcely expect yt wh an American civil War upon yr Hands the Ministry wd approve of a War in India of wch the imperfect Advices from Bombay will have given them no prospect of a Termination: but if it shd be approved the Treaty may yet be prevented for ye Hooly festival was to come on 2 Days after Upton's last Letter & wd last 10 Days. Forms and ye Spirit of Procrastination may keep it back Ten Days longer, wch wd give Time for a Letter from this Board to reach Upton, & possibly induce him to insist on Bassain, & begin all his Negotiations anew, or a Letter may arrive in ye mean Time from ye Co.—Both these Chances are within ye Line of Possibility, but I think ym not probable. I lament that I was not more peremptory in my first Opinion upon this Business. You know what a Struggle it cost me to temporize. But it was certainly a bad Policy to break ye Engagements once concluded under ye solemn Obligation of a Treaty, and as dangerous and disgraceful to retire from ye Midst of a War. Had ye Gent [gentlemen] of Bombay been but a fourth Part as explicit as Mr. Taylor (6) was when it was too late I should not have hesitated to declare loudly for prosecuting ye War, but we knew no more of yr means or Intentions than that they had gone to War agst the Marattas without Money, Men or Alliance, and without a Plan or decided Objects.—But it is too late for Reflexion. . . .

We are quiet in Council, Francis cool, & even a Dissenter & Monson silent. The General has given me no great Cause of Dissatisfaction. Yet, my Friend, I grow more impatient than ever.—I have lost Opportunities which, if I had been joined w reasonable Men wd have established my Reputation for ever. I ought to have heard before this from England, heard I mean some thing that wd have given me an Insight into my own Fate. Instead of that Scraps of alien News find their Way here w alarm me w the Apprehension that the popular Attention has turned into a new Channel, and yt We shall be wholly overlooked, or only treated with temporizing Managements without having anything decided perhaps for months yet to come.—I cannot bear these American tumults. Yet surely they will not leave Us another Year with a Maratta War brewing over Us, and a thick Storm gathering in Asota Dowla's Dominions, which must fall with Ruin on Us if it breaks while the present Anarchy continues in this Govt—

(6) The Agent sent to Hastings by the Bombay Council.

and with a new Settlt of ye provinces to be formed by Men who have no Principle to guide them in the Choice of their Measures but to read mine backwards.

I rely on your holding daily Councils with McLeane & Elliot (7). McLeane left me too soon to know me through the Reserve which it is not in my Nature to throw off but by a long and familiar Intercourse, but no man living ever won so much of my Confidence in so short an Acquice, and I love Elliot as much as his Father can love him.—As for you, my Friend, after the many bitter Arguments. and peevish squabbles wch have passed between Us—(& in which you must be sensible you were always in ye Wrong—you can have no Doubt of my Affection. I yet hope to see you the Partner of my better Days, and to rejoice with you in the Reflexion of our past and common Sufferings. I shall then be content to return after my appointed Time, and shall be happier to have you for my Neighbour and Bottle Companion than almost any Man I know.—Lord how our other Neighbours will wonder when we talk over old Stories together!—But I am not yet ripe for Retirement, nor hope for one social hour hereafter if my present Hopes are blasted. . . .

The third letter is dated "Belvidere 22nd Nov. 1776:—

. . . . I have written a Letter filled with all that my Heart was full of to Coll McLeane. See it.—Bogle (8) will write you the rest. —He & Anderson form a rew Committee of *Circuit*, which is to do all their Business *at home*.—I shall send my joint Friends all ye Papers w relate to this Business to wch I refer you for an Acct of it.—But you must read them attentively, & read them through before you cavil at them after your usual Way. I know that before you have read two Lines you will stop to tell me that I have undertaken Impossibilities, & when you have read it through that I am providing Materials for ye Benefit of Gnl Clavering.—I answer yt it is practicable & shall be done; & as to ye last Objection, the Genl will rather go to Work without any Materials at all, than use such as I shall provide for him.

I hardly dare mention the Name of Barwell to you after the mortal Wound w he has given you, or I would tell you that I am every Day more and more satisfied with him. Could I but get the better of his Indolence, & prevail upon him to answer ye Genl's protests (w by ye by is no easy task, for they are not always intelligible, & for ever filled w false Facts, w it r requires much Time & Labour to refute by Authorities), I sd be perfectly easy in my

(7) Colonel Lauchlan McLeane had gone to England early in 1775 to counteract the intrigues of Francis. Alexander Elliot of whom Hastings says that he had "loved him from a child"; was a brother of Sir Gilbert Elliot, afterwards Lord Minto.

(8) George Bogle of Tibet fame died in Calcutta on April 3, 1781. David Anderson always one of Hastings's intimates, negotiated the Treaty of Salbai in 1782.

Situation till the Mo of April. After yt Time I shall be outrageous, if Matters are not brot to an Issue some way or other.—I *do* care what, but if they give the Victory to Gl. C. I will promise ym that I will have ample Vengeance for the Injury, & shall desire no better Instrument to work it with than him.

P.S.: . . . The Genl has been for some Time ill.—I don't know how he is now, for I never enquire.—I have fancied a Case w is not impossible, & wd work Wonders. Suppose the next Attempt to remove Mr. Barwell & us sd succeed. One Member is gone (9). If the General sd follow, Francis from a simple Decimal will be the Integer—aye every inch a King—& possess ye undivided & uncontrolled Sovereignty of Bengal.—If it sd happen I verily believe he will run mad, & half ye People with him.

Have you read Ld P's (10) Pamphlet? It begins, "Upon my Arrival in India, I found a general *Reform* was necessary in the Settlement to preserve the Company from *Ruin*." What a striking Likeness there is in the Language & Characters of all Reformers!—Remember that though I made a Number of Chops & Changes, I never called myself a Reformer, nor lamented that all Men were not as virtuous & disinterested as myself, nor thanked God that I was not like this or that Publican whose Place I wanted to occupy myself, a Thief, Oppressor, etc. . . .

The fourth letter which is dated Fort William, 21st Decr. 1776, need not be reproduced. It will be found in the second volume of Gleig (page 118).

EVAN COTTON.

(9) Monson had died at Hooghly on September 25, 1776. Clavering died on August 30, 1777.

(10) Lord P=Lord Pigot who entered upon his second time of office as Governor of Fort Saint George on December 10, 1775, and being placed under arrest by the majority of the Council, died at Madras on May 10, 1777.

The Editor's Note Book.

IT is regrettable that no official list appears ever to have been prepared of the tablets which were affixed, by order of Lord Curzon upon buildings of historical interest throughout India. There are five such tablets at Benares and by the courtesy of Mr. V. N. Mehta, I.C.S., the Collector, the inscriptions upon them have been copied. The first of these is on the wall of Madho Das' garden which is now occupied by the Radha Swami sect: it records that "in the garden within these walls were the quarters occupied in the autumn of 1781 by Warren Hastings, First Governor of Fort William in Bengal." Mention is not made, as it might have been, of the fact that the house was subsequently occupied by Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benares from 1788 to 1795 and Governor of Bombay from 1795 to 1811, who founded the famous Sanskrit College: and that later on it was assigned as a residence to Wazir Ali on his removal from Lucknow. The next tablet is at Shivala Ghat and has been placed at the left side of the gate of the house facing the Ganges. The inscription reads: "This was the residence of Raja Chait Singh where he was arrested by the orders of Warren Hastings on the 16th August, 1781, and where on the same date, after the massacre of two companies of sepoys with their British officers, he was rescued by his adherents." The third tablet will be found at Nandeswar House which is now used as a guest house by His Highness the Maharaja of Benares: it is inscribed: "This House was the residence of Mr. Davis, Magistrate of Benares. It was defended by him single-handed with a spear on the 14th June, 1799 against 200 armed men led by the rebel Nawab Wazir Ali." The description of the weapon as a "spear" is incorrect: it was a running footman's pike. On the old Mint House, which is opposite Nandeswar Kothi, is a tablet which records that "this House was built as a Mint in 1820-1821 from the designs of James Prinsep the celebrated antiquarian who resided in it until the Benares Mint was abolished in 1830. It was used as a place of refuge by the European inhabitants of Benares in June and July, 1857."

THE fifth and last tablet must be given a paragraph to itself. There are two places in Benares associated with the name of Tulsi Das, the author of the famous Hindi version of *Ramayana*, who died at Benares in 1623. One is a ghat on the river side. He is said to have lived in the corner building at the north of the ghat while writing the latter part of the poem, which contains 12,800 lines, and

also to have composed there the *Rama-dataka*—one of his minor poems—in a single night. His shoes and pillow and a piece of wood on which he is said to have crossed the Ganges, are preserved. It is not here however that the tablet has been affixed. That will be found on a house behind the Kotwali, or principal police station and is inscribed: "The Poet Tulsi Das is said to have here composed his *Binaya Patrika*," which is one of his finest poems on *Bhakti Marga*.

THERE is one more historic building in Benares which deserves notice. Just beyond the Civil Courts is a house known as Hastings House, now the property of Rai Govind Chandra, which is supposed to have been occupied by Hastings on the occasion of his second visit. There is certainly a sun dial of Chunar stone on the edge of the road outside the garden, which, according to the inscription upon it, was erected in 1784 by Lieut. James Ewart by order of Warren Hastings.

THE recent appointment of Sir Malcolm Macnaghten, K.C., M.P., to be a Judge of the King's Bench Division, indicates the strength of the judicial tradition in that old Anglo-Indian family. Sir Francis William Macnaghten (1763-1843) the propositus, went out to Calcutta in 1791 with his father in law, Sir William Dunkin the Judge, and was admitted as an advocate of the Supreme Court on September 1, of that year. He prospered, as was natural, served the office of Sheriff in 1797, and became Master and Accountant-General. In 1803 he returned to Europe, but went back to India in 1809 as puisne judge at Madras whence he was transferred to Calcutta in 1815 and retired in 1825. Sir Malcolm Macnaghten is the fourth son of Lord Macnaghten (1830-1913), the famous Lord of Appeal who was a grandson of Sir Francis; and his mother was a daughter of Sir Samuel Martin, one of the Barons of the Exchequer. An account of the Indian Macnaghtens has already been given in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXXIII, pp. 79-80).

THE announcement of the death in London on December 14 last of the widow of Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Strachey, at the age of 88, recalls a host of other Anglo-Indian memories. Lady Strachey was the grand daughter of Sir John Peter Grant, the judge of Supreme Court at Bombay, who quarrelled with the Executive in the person of Sir John Malcolm, and resigned his appointment and came to Calcutta in 1831 to practise as an advocate because Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control cut the knot by nominating two colleagues with the comment that Grant would

"now be like a wild elephant between two tame ones." He obtained a puisne judgeship in Calcutta in 1833 and retired in 1848, dying on the voyage to Europe. Thereafter a dynasty of John Peter Grants arose in Bengal. The second of that name was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1859 to 1862 and married the second daughter of Trevor John Chichele Plowden (Bengal Civil Service, 1827-1861). Elinor, one of their children, married Sir James Colville who was Advocate General from 1845 to 1848, puisne judge from 1848 to 1855 and Chief Justice from 1855 to 1859. Her sister, Jane Maria, was Lady Strachey; and two of her brothers, John Peter Grant the third, and Trevor John Chichele Grant, were in the Bengal Civil Service. There were many tales told in old days of Trevor Grant, but these must keep for another occasion. Lady Strachey's husband, Richard, was the brother of Sir John Strachey; and were not only descended from Clive's Secretary, Henry Strachey, but had as maternal grandfather the famous Major-General William Kirkpatrick who founded the Bengal Military Orphan Society in 1782, and like his brother James Achilles was Resident at Hyderabad. Richard Strachey accompanied his future father-in-law to the Upper Provinces when Grant took charge, during the Mutiny, of those portions of the North-West Provinces which were still in communication with Calcutta. Only a few of the family ramifications have been hinted at. As far as the Stracheys are concerned, there is no lack of representation; for nine of Lady Strachey's thirteen children survive her. One of them is Mr. Lytton Strachey.

THERE is no portrait of Sir John Peter Grant the first in the High Court at Calcutta; but there is one in the Sessions Court at Bombay, to which a remarkable history is attached. When Grant left Bombay, his carriage was drawn through the streets by the Indian inhabitants; and a subscription was started which resulted in the painting of his portrait at Calcutta. The picture arrived in Bombay on December 3, 1833, but Sir Herbert Compton, who was then Chief Justice refused to allow it to be put up in the Supreme Court building; and it remained for sixty years in the family of Mr. Jeejeebhoy Dada-bhai whose grandson offered it to the Judges in 1892. This time it was accepted by Sir Charles Sargent, the Chief Justice of that day. It is unfortunately impossible to discover the signature of the painter on the canvas. Probably, it is the work of George Beechey, who came to Calcutta about the year 1830 and whose portrait of Dr. John Adam (1792-1830) is one of those in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Maharaja Sir Prodyot Coomar Tagore owns also a number of his pictures.

BEECHEY succeeded Robert Home as Court Painter to the King of Oudh at Lucknow; and in the Rev. H. S. Polehampton's letters and Diary (Bentley, London, 1858) mention is made of a ghost story with which his name is connected. Polehampton, after rowing for Oxford in the University boatrace of 1846, came to Lucknow in

The History of a
Judge's Portrait.

An Artist's Ghost.

April, 1856 as a chaplain on the Bengal establishment. The Company's regiments were then quartered at Mariaon some three miles to the north-east of Lucknow; and Polehampton had a pucca house there. On May 12, 1857, just before the outbreak, he says in the course of a letter to his mother (p. 236);

They say that my house is haunted and that none but a Padre can live in it. I have often been asked "whether I have seen the ghost," by English people. They say that Mr. Beechey, who died here, haunts it. Did I tell you that one night, hearing a strange noise at one of the doors, I went out with my revolver? No one was there, so I called the chokeedar and asked him what it was. He looked very solemn, and said "Beechey Sahib."

POLEHAMPTON died on July 20, 1857, during the siege; and the devoted service which he gave was acknowledged by Lord Canning who wrote on December 8, 1857 that he could not
 Two Tragic Marriages. "forego the pleasure of doing justice to the names of Birch, Polehampton, Barbar and Gale." His widow, who died at Grindelwald in Switzerland as recently as 1905, married in 1859 Major-General Sir Henry Masion Durand. By a melancholy coincidence, he too met with a tragic death. On June 1, 1870, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and seven months later, on December 31, received fatal injuries at Tank in the Dera Ismail Khan district. He was entering a gateway on an elephant, when the howdah struck the top of the gateway and he was thrown to the ground.

THE Lucknow Chaplain was a keen observer, and his letters are full of interesting glimpses of the India of those days. The *Hindustan*, in which he made the voyage from Suez, came up the Calcutta in 1856. Hooghly as far as Garden Reach, where the P. and O. Company's wharf was, opposite Bishop's College (now occupied by the Sibpur Engineering College). Garden Reach was then full of "the houses of Calcutta merchants, each standing in its garden, having quite a Richmond-villa appearance." He thus describes the "Calcutta domestic style of architecture," which at the risk of being denounced as a fossil, must be acknowledged to be better suited to the climate than the modern skyscrapers with their narrow balconies. "At the top is a balustrade like that at the top of Christ Church, Oxford; then two stories of rooms, outside each of which is a verandah supported on pillars, the space between the pillars being filled up with thin blinds, called 'chicks,' which light or rather shade, the verandah into which the rooms open." Spence's Hotel was then the refuge of the new arrival. The "course" on the Maidan which

is now supplanted by Tollygunge, was the "Regents Park of Calcutta," where the morning and evening drives were taken. The Hooghly river presented "a splendid and novel sight, with ships of 2,000 tons, anchored, not, as in London, alongside of muddy smoky warehouses, but along the bank, in many places green and covered with trees." There were "no shop windows" in the business quarter which lay around Tank Square; "everything was inside." On the whole, however, Polehampton "did not like Calcutta; it is neither an Indian nor an European town."

ON the way to Lucknow, the journey for the first 130 miles as far as Raneegunge was made by rail—"a capital railway." From Raneegunge to Lucknow, a distance of 600 miles, the Polehamptons travelled in a "gharree, a kind of van about six feet long, and three feet wide, on four wheels, drawn by one horse," which was provided by the Inland Transit Company. The horse was changed every five or six miles: and unless the animal jibbed, the rate of progress was about seven miles an hour. The bearer slept on the roof, as he did, only thirty odd years ago. When the journey from Purulia to Ranchi was made in a push push drawn by coolies. The days were spent at dak bungalows, of which there was one every ten miles; there was seldom bread to be had, but always *murghis* (unnaturally tough) and eggs. The journey would be resumed at dusk and be continued through the night. Polehampton was struck by the immense traffic by bullock-carts on the Grand Trunk Road which those who use it in the neighbourhood of Howrah may be interested to know was then "a splendid road, as good as any in England."

MODERN memsahibs will study with mingled feelings the list which Polehampton gives of his servants at Lucknow and of the wages which he paid them. The rent of his bungalow was Rs. 50 a month and he calculated that his annual budget for board, lodging and servants would not exceed Rs. 3,000! What, he asks, did an unnamed friend of his mean by saying that living in India cost twice as much as in England? The list is as follows:—

Khansamah, or house-steward	...	Rs. 10	a month.
Khitmutgar or table-attendant	...	Rs. 7	"
Dhobee or washerman	...	Rs. 8	"
Ayah, or lady's maid	...	Rs. 8	"
Bawarchie, or cook	...	Rs. 8	"
Sirdar bearer or valet	...	Rs. 8	"
Bheestie, or water carrier	...	Rs. 4	"
Mehter, or sweeper	...	Rs. 4	"

Chowkeedar, or watchman	...	Rs. 4	a month.
Four punkah coolies, two for day, two for night ...	...	Rs. 3 each	„
Three mallees or gardeners	...	Rs. 3	„
Two mate bearers	...	Rs. 4	„
Two syces or grooms	...	Rs. 5	„
Grass-cutter	...	Rs. 3	„
Bukhari wallah, or goat boy	...	Rs. 1	„
Dhurzhee or tailor	...	Rs. 7	„

Polehampton adds that "there was plenty of space" in his garden and compound, "which is nearly half a mile round." He used to ride into Lucknow from Mariaon on an elephant.

THE use of Anglo-Indian phrases has become quite common in England: and many of them have secured a firm footing in the English language. But when Sir Charles Napier was commanding in Sind, eighty-five years ago, he objected very strongly to their introduction into official documents. The text of the following characteristic General Order is preserved in a compilation of records of Napier's Indian Command which was made by one John Mawson and published at Calcutta in 1851:—

Bilingual Offi-
cial Documents.

Headquarters, Kurrachee, 12th February, 1844. The Governor unfortunately does not understand Hindoostanee nor Persian nor Mahratta nor any other Eastern dialect. He therefore will feel particularly obliged to collectors, sub-collectors, and officers writing the proceedings of Courts-Martial, and all Staff Officers, to indite their various papers in English, Larded with as small a portion in the to him unknown tongues as they conveniently can, instead of those he generally receives—namely papers written in Hindostane larded with occasional words in English.

Any Indent made for English Dictionaries shall be duly attended to, if such be in the stores at Kurrachee: if not, Gentlemen who have forgotten the vulgar tongue are requested to provide the requisite assistance from England.

EQUALLY entertaining is another general Order, issued at Sukkur in 1843. "Gentlemen, as well as beggars," observed Sir Charles Napier, "may, if they like, ride to the devil when they get on horseback; but neither gentlemen nor beggars have a right to send other people there, which will be the case if furious riding be allowed in camp or bazaar."

"Gentlemen
Horseback."

The Major-General calls the attention of all the camp to the orders of Lieut.-Colonel Wallace of the 18th ult., and begs to add that he has placed a detachment of horse at Capt. Pope's

orders, who will arrest offenders, and Capt. Pope will inflict such a fine or other punishment as the Bazaar regulations permit. Capt. Pope is not allowed to let any one off punishment, because when orders have been repeated and not obeyed, it is time to enforce them; without obedience an army becomes a mob, a cantonment a bear-garden. The enforcement of obedience is like physic, not agreeable but sometimes very necessary.

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR'S elegy on Rose Aylmer should be well-known in Calcutta: have not the lines been inscribed, at the instance of the Calcutta Historical Society, upon her tomb in the South Park Street cemetery? But it is not, we fancy, so well-known that the version which has made Landor famous, was not the original one. As Landor wrote the poem about the year 1805, the words of the last stanza were these:

A Poet's Second Thoughts.

*Sweet Aylmer, whom these wakeful eyes
May weep but never see,
A night of sorrows and of sighs
I consecrate to thee*

Long afterwards, the poet made these corrections:—

*Rose Aylmer. . . .
A night of memories and of sighs. . .*

Our authority is the late Sir Edmund Gosse.

A MONUMENT at Haripur, a place situated about 20 miles from Hasan Abdul in the North-West Frontier Province, commemorates a certain "Colonel Canora," who was "killed defending his guns against the Sikh insurgents in 1848." Who was this "Colonel Canora?" De Rhe Philipe, in his biographical notices of persons whose names appear on Christian tombs in Northern India, quotes three authorities who give little assistance. Sir James Abbott, who erected the monument, calls him an American, and Sir Frederick Currie describes him as "an European or American;" according to Sir George St. Patrick Lawrence, he was "formerly a trumpeter in the British Cavalry." Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, the Director of Records at Lahore, has solved the problem. "Canora" is a corruption of "Kennedy." He was a deserter from the Royal Navy who took service with Maharaja Ranjit Singh. At the time of his death he was in command of a brigade of artillery at Haripur and was murdered by his men during the anarchy which followed the death of Ranjit Singh. Other European officers, such as Holmes and Foulkes, met a similar fate.

DURING the month of November last, some interesting correspondence appeared in *The Times* on the subject of a strange story associated with the cantonment of Nowshera (also in the N.-W. F. Province). The details are given in the most circumstantial manner by Lieut.-Col. W. W. Lean in a letter which was printed on November 26. When the 5th Bengal Cavalry (of which Colonel Lean was later in command) arrived at Nowshera on March 9, 1809, there was an insufficiency of bungalows for the officers. Three of them—Capt. A. C. Anderson, the Adjutant, Lieut. H. S. Williamson and Assistant Surgeon D. P. Palmer obtained permission to build a house and selected a site in the centre of a loop formed by the Kabul river. It was however already occupied by a Hindu fakir who, upon being ejected, laid a curse upon the officers and prophesied that both they and their house would come to an untimely end within seven years. The curse was fulfilled in a most extraordinary manner. Capt. Anderson broke his neck on May 25, 1870, when out hawking with the Guides near Hoti Mardan. On March 12, 1871, Lieut. Williamson was thrown from his horse when playing polo at Nowshera and sustained a fatal fracture of the skull. The house and the loop on which it stood were washed away in the first half of August 1876 by a bore caused by the flooding of the Indus at Attock. There remained Dr. Palmer, and he was drowned on the Jumna at Allahabad on September 4, 1876. Major H. N. Webb, who was with him at the time, supplies full details of the fatality. Another brother-officer, Lieut.-Gen. Sir George Richardson, who was living with Dr. Palmer in the cavalry lines near Allahabad, states that his death occurred either on the exact day, or the day before the completion of the seven years, mentioned in the curse.

WE have transcribed, the following, by permission, from the *Indian Antiquary* for December, 1880 (Vol. IX, p. 309). The story is printed without comment by Dr. James Burgess, who was then the editor, and the observations, which are offered at a later stage, are our own:—

An Apparition in
the Council-Chamber.

The Rev. Bouchier Wrey Sairle has issued a second edition of his valuable and interesting book on "Apparitions" (published by Longmans and Co.) and in it he gives fresh instances of the saving of spontaneous apparitions by persons not spiritualists. In the preface he says:

"I am indebted to the kindness of George Sparkes, Esq., of Bromley, Kent, for the following very singular incident connected with that eminent statesman Warren Hastings. . . Mr. Sparkes informs me that one evening, when his great uncle, Joseph Cator, Esq., then Secretary to Warren Hastings, was sitting with the Supreme Council of India in the Council-Chamber of Calcutta,

Mr. Shakespear, one of the members, suddenly looked up, exclaiming "Good God, there is my father!" The whole Council then saw a figure of an unknown person glide through the Chamber into another room which had no outlet, and disappear. What particularly attracted the attention of the Council was the fact that the figure appeared with a hat of unusual shape commonly known in our day by the name of "chimney-pot." The Governor-General was so struck with the occurrence that he ordered a minute to be made of the matter and placed in the record-chest: where it may possibly still remain. In course of time a ship from England arrived bringing the news of the death of Mr. Shakespear's father, and likewise a cargo of "chimney pot hats," the first ever brought to India.

IT is with great regret that we venture to dissect so good a story: but we feel bound to point out that it offends not only against chronology but against fact. Warren Hastings sailed from Calcutta in the *Berrington* in February, 1785. We are not aware that Joseph Cator ever acted as his Secretary. This post was held by George Nesbitt Thompson for some years before the Governor-General's departure. Joseph Cator as a matter of fact, was private secretary to Richard Barwell. As for the member of Council named Shakespear, the first member of that family who attained the dignity was H. D. Shakespear who took his seat on October 26, 1835 and died in Calcutta on March 20, 1838. Finally, if we are to believe the evidence supplied in a letter written to *The Times* on November 20, 1926, by Miss Beatrice Havergal Shaw, the "chimney pot hat" did not come into vogue until eleven years after Hastings had left India. "An old journal dated January 16, 1797" describes how a haberdasher in the Strand of the name of Hetherington was bound over at the Mansion House for inciting to a breach of the peace. He had, it appears, created a riot by appearing in public with "what he called a silk hat (which was offered in evidence) a full structure having a shiny lustre, and calculated to frighten timid people. The story therefore fails to satisfy a single chronological test: and as the society for Psychical Research appears to have been enquiring into the matter, it is to be hoped that this bold recital will lay this particular ghost.

LOVERS of a coincidence will note that Lord Lake's elevation to the peerage, under the style and title of Baron Lake of Delhi and Laswaree and of Aston Clinton in the county of Buckingham, was announced in the same issue of the *London Gazette* (September 1, 1804) as the appointment of Major-General the Honourable Arthur Wellesley to be a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath. The extract was published by the Governor-General in General orders, Fort William, February 25, 1805; and a Royal salute was

An Interesting
Coincidence.

ordered to be fired "at all the stations of the Land Forces serving in the East Indies, for the purpose of notifying these distinguished marks of His Majesty's Gracious Favor and Approbation to the Army."

IN the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* for October, 1804, (p. 695) the text is given of a letter written from Cawnpore on August 18, of that year by Lake to Lord Wellesley, with reference to the honours conferred upon him by Shah Alam, the blind Emperor, whom he had rescued in the previous year from the hands of the Mahrattas. Rajah Munnoo Lall "a Person of Rank" performed the ceremony of investiture with a sword and shield and the insignia of the "Mahee and Moratib." On the following page a description is given of these marks of distinction:—

The dignity of the Mahee and Moratib, to which also the privilege of beating the Nobut was annexed, was usually presented by the Emperors of Hindostan to persons of the highest rank in the Empire, such as the Vizier and Bukshea or Commander-in-Chief.

The following is a description of the *Mahee* or Fish:—The head of a large Fish is fashioned in copper, and gilt. The body and tail of the Fish are formed of silk, and fixed to the head. The whole is then fixed upon a long staff and carried upon an Elephant which together with these insignia, is presented to the person upon whom this dignity is conferred.

The *Moratib* consists of a Ball of Copper, gilt, encircled by a *Jhollar*, or fringe, of about two feet long, and placed on a long pole; and like the *Mahee*, is borne on an Elephant.

The mode of granting the *Nobut* is as follows: Two small *Nobuts*, or Drums of silver are formed, each about the size of a thirty-two Pound Shot, of which the apertures are covered with parchment. These are hung upon the neck of the person on whom the *Nobut* is conferred and are struck a few times. That person then becomes a *Sahib-i-Nobut*; and he has Drums made upon the paper scale, which are beaten five times in the course of four and twenty hours. The Drums of the *Nobut*, placed on an Elephant, accompany the *Mahee* and *Moratib* on a march.

AT page 570 of the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* for August, 1804, a curious reference will be found to George Francis Grand, the husband of the lady who cost Philip Francis 50,000 sicca rupees and ended her days in Paris as the *Princesse de Talleyrand*: Grand ended his at the Cape of Good Hope where he obtained an appointment as the Consulting Counsellor or Raad Consuleur about the year 1802,

after the rendition of the Colony to the Dutch under the provisions of the Treaty of Amiens. Here he appears to have become an important personage: for the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* writes that it has been "favoured by a correspondent at the Cape of Good Hope with the following information;

Mr. Grand might with great propriety be said to govern the Government. All debates in Council are carried on in the French and not in the Dutch language, by orders from the First Consul. Mr. Grand not understanding the Dutch language, business is suspended for the day, should he be absent. Nine or ten Englishmen only had permission to remain, among whom were Mr. Duckitt, the English Agriculturist, Mr. Watney, formerly Lieut. in the 8th Dragoons, and Mr. Hudson, proprietor of the Family Hotel. The Hon'ble Company's Agent, John Pringle, Esq. had departed for St. Helena, previous to which he was very generously entertained by the Government and by the principal inhabitants of the Colony.

This state of affairs did not last long. On January 9, 1806, the Cape was taken by Sir David Baird and Sir Home Popham; and on April 6 in that year Grand was appointed Inspector of Government Woods and Forests. This appointment he seems to have held for a year only; but he remained at Capetown and died there on January 22, 1820. Mr. J. J. Cotton has, in an article which was printed in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1923 (Vol. XXV, pp. 71-75) collected many interesting details of Grand's life at the Cape: but does not appear to have been aware of the entry in the *Calcutta Monthly Journal*.

AMONG the many famous men who have sent their sons to India is Robert Burns, exciseman and poet. It has already been recorded in these pages (Vol. XXXIV, p. 44) that his two sons were officers in the Company's army, one in Madras and the other in Bengal. Both had Glencairn for a second Christian name; it was derived from the poet's friend, the Earl of Glencairn whose mother was the niece of James Macrae, the predecessor of Thomas Pitt as Governor of Fort Saint George. Macrae was the son of a washerwoman at Ayr and started life as a cabin-boy. He acquired great wealth in India and left much of it to his niece who was the daughter of a fiddler. Lord Glencairn is the subject of Robert Burns' *Lament*. The Scotsman of March 10, 1890 recorded that Colonel James Glencairn Burns, the Bengal son, who died in 1865, wrote to the Burns Club on one occasion for a bottle to be filled from the club punch bowl and sent out to him in India—no doubt for the celebration of St. Andrew's Day.

Calcutta Historical Society.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

THE Annual General Meeting of the Calcutta Historical Society was held in the Imperial Record Office, at 3, Government Place West, Calcutta, on Wednesday, the 30th January, at 6 p.m.

Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, M.A., C.I.E., took the chair.

The following report for the year 1928 was read by the Honorary Secretary, Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali.

REPORT FOR 1928.

This report places on record the fact that the Calcutta Historical Society has now stepped into the 22nd year of its existence, having already come of age.

The Society expresses its sincere gratitude for the help it has received during the year under review, as in the past, from Sir Evan Cotton. Although Sir Evan is now in England, he continues to be the mainstay of the Society, and of *Bengal: Past and Present*.

I have to report with deep regret the untimely deaths of five of our prominent members and staunch supporters in the persons of His Excellency Sir Alexander Muddiman, Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Hon'ble the Maharaja Bahadur of Nadia, Prof. Jogindra Nath Samaddar, the well known economist and historian, the Hon'ble Mr. S. R. Dass, Law Member of the Government of India, and Mr. G. N. Roy, I.C.S.

The Society's thanks are due to Prof. R. B. Ramsbotham, the Honorary Editor of *Bengal: Past and Present* for his untiring energy and devotion towards the welfare of the Society. The Society is also indebted to Messrs. Lovelock & Lewes, the Honorary Auditors and to all those who are taking part in promoting the cause of the Society and its journal.

I am glad to report that the Index to Volumes IX to XVIII has been published during the year under review. It will no doubt be a valuable asset to the readers of *Bengal: Past and Present* and to all who are interested in historical research. The indexing of the next 10 volumes of *Bengal: Past and Present* is almost complete. As the sum of about Rs. 1,800 is required for paying the indexers as honorarium and to meet the printing charges it is hoped that some of our generous subscribers will come forward and contribute handsomely to our Index Fund.

A comparative statement for the last three years will give our members an idea of our financial condition.

		Subscriptions realised.	Sale of Journal.	Bank balance as on 31st December.
1926	...	1,667-14-6	294- 4-0	916- 6- 7
1927	...	1,909-14-9	546-15-0	1,202-14-10
1928	...	1,989-15-3	620- 0-0	1,705-10- 4

It will be seen from these figures that the financial progress attained by the Society during the last three years has been very encouraging. It may be noted that although the death and resignation of several members of the Society deprived it of some amount as subscriptions, the loss was

more than made up by the introduction of new members. The sale of the Journal has appreciably increased during the period and the amount for 1928 shows an increase over the figure for 1926 by more than Rs. 325.

During the year under review the total number of members was 172 as against 177 of the previous year. The decrease is due to the death and resignation of several members. We have enlisted several new members during the year.

It will appear from the audited Financial Statement appended below that the balance at the Bank on the 31st December, 1928, amounted to Rs. 706-10-4 in the General Fund and Rs. 367-5-7 in the Index Fund. The amount of Rs. 1,000 lying as a Fixed Deposit in the Index Fund, may be transferred to the General Fund Account, as the sum of Rs. 1,000, being the charge for printing the Index has been paid out of the General Fund Account during the year 1928.

The subscriptions of about 38 Ordinary members amounting to nearly Rs. 1,200 are in arrears, but the Honorary Manager reports that a great part of this amount will be realised during the current year.

In conclusion I thank all those who have helped in the continued development of the Society; without their valued aid and endeavours, the Society would not have been able to show the progress it has made, and is likely to continue in making.

Calcutta,
The 30th January, 1929.

HONORARY SECRETARY.

THE FINANCIAL STATEMENT. GENERAL ACCOUNT.

Receipts and Payments for the year ended 31st December, 1928.

RECEIPTS.			PAYMENTS.		
	Rs.	As. P.		Rs.	As. P.
Balance at 1st January, 1928			Printing and Blocks ...	1,895	5 3
with Mercantile Bank of India,			Postage and Stationery ...	255	4 6
Current Account ...	1,202	14 10	Bank Charges ...	2	8 0
Subscriptions Realised—			Loan to "Index Fund" ...	1,000	0 0
Arrears ...	720	0 0			
1928 ...	1,149	15 3	Balance at 31st December 1928		
1929 in advance ...	20	0 0	with Mercantile Bank of India,		
Life Membership ...	100	0 0	Current Account ...	705	10 4
	1,989	15 3			
Sale of Society's Journal ...	620	0 0			
Interest ...	32	6 0			
Charges for reprints—					
Recovered from Mr. Seth ...	13	8 0			
	Rs. 3,858	12 1		Rs. 3,858	12 1

CALCUTTA,
15th January, 1929.

Examined and found correct.
(Sd.) LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

INDEX FUND ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
	Rs. As. P.		Rs. As. P.
Balance at 1st January, 1928 with Mercantile Bank of India—		Printing ...	1,000 0 0
Current Account 117 13 7		Balance at 31st December, 1928 with Mercantile Bank of India—	
Fixed Deposit ... 1,000 0 0		Fixed Deposit ... 1,000 0 0	
	1,117 13 7	Current Account 367 5 7	
Sale of Index ...	209 8 0		1,367 5 7
Interest ...	40 0 0		
Loan from General Fund ... 1,000 0 0			
	Rs. 2,367 5 7		Rs. 2,367 5 7

CALCUTTA,
15th January, 1929.

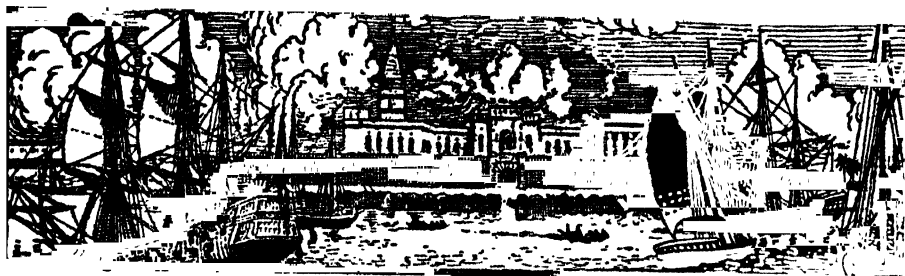
Examined and found correct.
(Sd.) LOVELOCK & LEWES,
Chartered Accountants,
Honorary Auditors.

Dr. Bhandar Kar proposed the adoption of the Report and the Financial Statement.

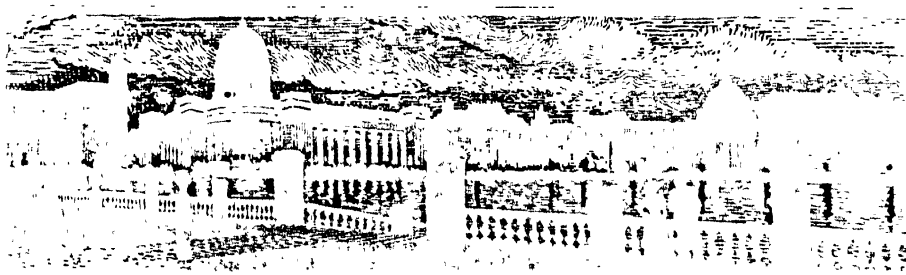
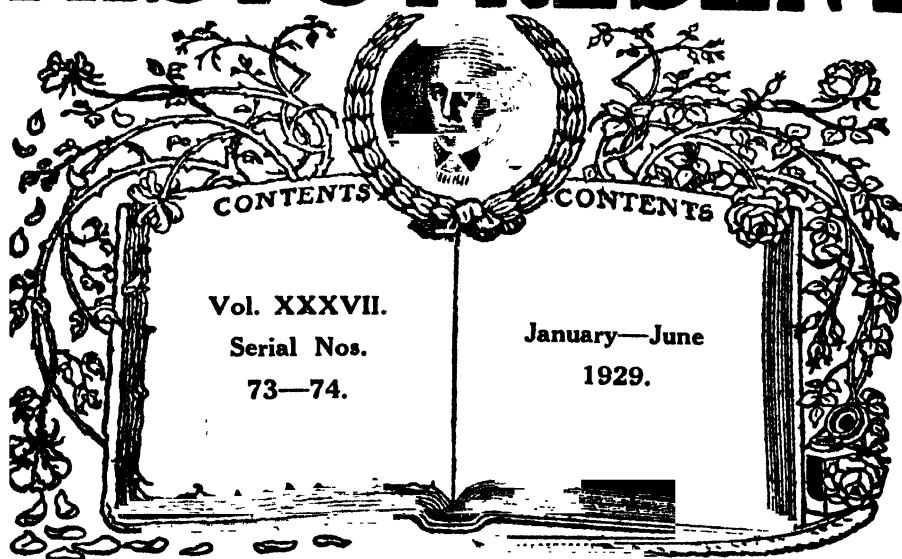
Raja Kshitendra Nath Deb Rai Mohshai of Bansbaria seconded the motion which was carried unanimously.

On the proposal of Mr. M. Seth seconded by Dr. Bhandar Kar, Office bearers for the year 1929 were appointed.

With a vote of thanks to the chair the meeting terminated at 7-30 p.m.



BENEFIT PAST & PRESENT



JOURNAL OF THE CALCUTTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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LORD LAKE AND HIS STAFF
AT FATEHGARH, 1804.

By ROBERT HOME.

From the Picture in the Victoria Memorial Hall
at Calcutta.

Robert Home's Portrait of Lord Lake.

THE fine equestrian portrait of Lord Lake, the Baron of Delhi and Laswarree, which is one of the chief ornaments of the collection of pictures at the Victoria Memorial Hall, forms the subject of two references in the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* for 1809, which have hitherto been un-noticed. The first of these occurs in the January issue (at p. 64):—

Mr. Home's large picture of Lord Lake, intended for the New Town Hall, is now open for public inspection, in the Meeting Room of the Asiatic Society at Chowringhee. The scene of this fine painting is laid in the neighbourhood of Futtyghur; and the time is supposed to correspond with the return of the troops from the pursuit and destruction of Holkar's army.

The second reference is in the following terms (p. 99):

We are concerned to find that the situation at present allotted to Mr. Home's grand picture of Lord Lake returning to Camp after the victory at Futtyghur, but ill corresponds with the dimensions of this splendid production of art; the windows of the room [in the Hall of the Asiatic Society] being so low as to keep the upper part of the picture generally in a deep shade. Yet even with this disadvantage, we may safely predict that it will never be examined without admiration, whether for the execution of the artist or for the appropriate selection of the circumstances which enter into the composition.

These references are of importance as showing that the picture can definitely be ascribed to Home and that it was completed at the end of 1808. From the fact that it was intended for the Town Hall, where it remained until the Corporation of Calcutta presented it to the Victoria Memorial Hall, it may be inferred also that the cost was met by public subscription. Lord Lake was appointed Commander-in-Chief in India on May 14, 1801, and resigned on February 26, 1807.

One remarkable incident in the history of the picture deserves to be put once again upon record. When it was handed over in 1901 to Mr. Alexander Scott to be cleaned, nothing was visible upon the canvas except the figure of Lake on a horse of a dingy brown colour. A glance at the reproduction which we give, will show that Lake is mounted on a white charger, that his son and aide-de-camp is by his side on a black horse, that two other members of the staff are riding up the hill upon which the General is standing, and that there is a spirited military background.

EVAN COTTON.

Warren Hastings Through German Eyes.

THE translation has just been published in London (1) of a play by Herr Lion Feuchtwanger, in which Warren Hastings is introduced as the central figure. It is apparently among the earliest works of this author; and the success which has been achieved by his novel "Jew Süß" would seem to have invested it with sufficient importance to warrant its production in English dress. How then does the career of the great Governor-General, which is so intimately connected with Calcutta, fare in the hands of a German dramatist?

In a short review of the English translation which appeared in *The Times* of April 26, the amazing statement is made that Herr Feuchtwanger has made the most of his material "without doing any injustice to the historical facts." The claim will not survive a moment's examination, and it is the more extraordinary that it should be advanced, because the author in his "Advice before Reading" recommends those who "want reliable information about Warren Hastings" to "exchange the book for another." What then is the object in presenting what is admittedly a travesty of history? We are not told. "Warren Hastings," we learn, was "not understood in Germany twelve years ago and failed;" now, "it is a success and is not understood."

The period chosen for the play which is called "a History in Three Acts" consists of the few days between the end of April and the beginning of May, 1775. In Scene I of Act I "the delegates of the East India Company come to Calcutta to control the actions of the Governor-General." A truly "Extraordinary Meeting" of the Council is described. Barwell, Monson, Clavering and Francis ("a pale, heavy man, with clumsy movements," which he certainly was not) are taking "iced drinks" while they wait for the Governor-General, who arrives, accompanied by his secretary, to whom for some unexplained reason the name of Cowper is given, "a thick set young man with an expression of cool effrontery." The three councillors from England, who reached Calcutta in October, 1774, are stated to have been in Bengal for "three short weeks." A remarkable discussion follows. Francis accuses Hastings of "robbing the Begum of Oudh and her mother." What happened actually in 1775 was that the Begums of Oudh were allowed, with the sanction of the majority in the Council, to retain the treasure which had been left by Nawab Shuja-ud-daula. It was not until 1781—when both Clavering and Monson were dead and Francis had returned to England—that Hastings cancelled the arrangement made in 1775 on the ground

(1) Two Anglo-Saxon Plays: The Oil Islands and Warren Hastings. By Lion Feuchtwanger. Translated by Willa and Edwin Muir. (Seckar: Six Shilling net).



that the complicity of the Begums in Chait Singh's revolt was fully established. The matter certainly formed one of the charges at the impeachment, and much rhetoric was wasted upon it by Burke and Sheridan. The Begums' own view of it is sufficiently demonstrated by the fact that they wrote letters of condolence to Hastings on his trial!

Hastings is next represented as claiming that since the beginning of his administration, he has "nearly completed" a road from Calcutta to Lahore. It was, again, not until 1781 that he carried a resolution in Council in favour of constructing a "New Road from Calcutta to Chunargur," but no further.

In Scene 2, which takes place on May 1, 1775, "the Company's representatives lay an accusation against Hastings and summon him to appear before the Court on May 4th." Firstly, Impey arrives at the Governor-General's office and discusses with Barwell an action brought by Nuncomar against Hastings, which he is about to try! He continues the discussion with Hastings himself! Nuncomar next appears on the scene, but is not admitted. Francis, Monson and Claveing arrive and demand his presence. In the course of conversation Hastings begs Francis to remember that "I have been at Eton as well as you." There is much talk about a famine which is raging—and which as a matter of fact took place in 1770. Hastings expresses his readiness to "apologize" to Nuncomar and ask for a postponement of the "trial." Francis replies by summoning him formally to appear on May 4 to answer fifty-three charges of bribery, embezzlement and illegal imprisonment.

The foundation for this farrago appears to be that in March 1775 Nuncomar responded to the manifest wishes of the majority of the Council by submitting through Francis papers which charged Hastings with gross corruption and enclosing a letter (a manifest forgery) from Mani Begum the widow of Mir Jafar, offering a bribe. The papers were sent to England and were placed in 1776 before the law officers of the Company who reported that the charges were palpably false. Nothing more was heard of them until 1789 when Burke founded a charge upon them which met with so little success that Hastings was unanimously acquitted upon it.

Scene 3 takes place on the evening of May 1. "Warren Hastings is unable to tell the victims to their faces what their fate is. The 'victims' are 'two Ambassadors of the Rohilla tribe.'" Now, the first Rohilla war had ended in June, 1774; and there was so little to criticize in Hastings' conduct of it, that the House of Commons refused to include it in the articles of impeachment. "We are next introduced in Scene 1 of Act 2 Lady Marjorie Hike, whose surname is mercifully Englished into Hicks by the translators, and who is obviously intended to represent Mrs. Imhoff, the lady whom Hastings subsequently married. She is discovered in a garden pavilion, "practising with great diligence the song of 'Surabaya'—'hurry to a banjo.'" After some preliminary conversation of a very un-entire with Cowper, Hastings enters in a bathing-robe. "I will quick a road to Bhawalpur," says Lady Marjorie Hike

who observes also that *The Times* has given Hastings the title of "our greatest organizer." Hastings replies: "It's a damned fascinating game to bore a tunnel through that filthy yellow jungle" a remark which, it may be said, is entirely in keeping with the style of conversation in which all the characters indulge throughout the play. Hastings leaves and Viscount Hike, "a tall man gloomy and elegant" arrives. He is on his way to England "to order some decent clothes:" and tells his wife that he has "squeezed an additional whack of money out of Warren as payment for your release." The "Ambassadors from Oudh" now enter on the scene and leave behind them a casket containing a great white jewel, "The Milk of Mowgli."

In Scene 2, on the night before May 4, "Warren Hastings attempts in vain to vindicate himself in the eyes of India." Impey has requisitioned troops, "so that the arrest of Nuncomar may be made without any fuss:" and Barwell is credited with the statement that "when it's a hundred degrees Fahrenheit perhaps the crookedst way is the straightest." Impey enters and the following conversation ensues:—

Hastings—At what hour will the court assemble?

Impey—At eleven o'clock.

Hastings—And when can the sentence be carried out?

Impey—The exceptional circumstances permit it to be done at seven o'clock in the morning.

The German dramatist is not content with this monstrous libel on the memory of Hastings and Impey. Nuncomar is admitted and in the presence of the Chief Justice, is informed by Hastings in so many words that he will be hanged. He leaves and is arrested outside the house.

The caption at the head of Scene 1 of Act 3 which is laid in Lady Marjorie's rooms is as follows: "A man may undermine the morality of a whole Empire with impunity: but no booty must be found in his house." Francis enters and begs Lady Marjorie to intercede with Hastings for the life of Nuncomar. Otherwise, he will prove that Hastings is filling his pockets. Francis departs, "covered with sweat elated," and Lady Marjorie endeavours in vain to get into touch with Hastings. (It is surprising to find that she does not telephone.)

In Scene 2, Hastings, Impey and Barwell are discovered together in the Governor-General's office. They are awaiting the news of Nuncomar's execution. This is brought by Cowper who asks for "a whisky" before he can give his account of the "Damned nerve-shaking business." Hastings is unmoved. The Embassy from Oudh come in; Hastings hands to them the signed agreement by which he undertakes to send the Company's troops against the Rohillas. They depart and Francis, Monson and Clayering enter. They announce that the Governor-General is "discharged from his post for murdering Rajah Nuncomar, Regent of Bengal." By way of answer, they hear the regiments marching past on their way to Oudh, and "stand horte struck." Francis then charges Lady Marjorie Hike with "stealing" "The Milk of Mowgli" from the Oudh Ambassadors as "Hike" sent, and Hastings is actually represented as saying to his

must go to the dogs, because a prostitute wants to hang a few pieces of glass in front of her." He tells her that she must sail for England with her husband. Lady Marjorie pleads with him; and after a pause Hastings summons Francis, Barwell and Impey and informs them that the jewel has been pledged by Lady Marjorie with "the hanker Omitchand" for a consignment of rice for "the distressed Rohillas." Francis disappears with the announcement that it is he, and not Lady Marjorie, who is leaving India at once: and Hastings is left congratulating himself upon the progress of the mysterious "Punjab Road."

The reviewer in *The Times* calls the play, of which we have given a synopsis, "extraordinary good drama:" and adds that it has been produced in Germany with considerable success "although also with liberal disregard of its purpose." What, it may again be asked, is that purpose? Is it because Baron Imhoff, and his wife were Germans that they are introduced under the ridiculous names of Viscount Hike and Lady Marjorie Hike? Why should Hastings be pilloried as a murderer? Why is it necessary that the characters should use the vulgarest and coarsest expressions? We understand that when the play was produced in Germany, the parts were played in costumes which were a caricature alike of the fashions of the period and of the dress which is supposed in Germany to be favoured by Englishmen and women of the present day.

That it is possible to write a play round the career of Warren Hastings and to write it without wholesale anachronisms and solecisms—to say nothing of an utter disregard of historical facts—it may be mentioned that on April 23 last such a play by Mr. Howard Peacey was performed for the first time at Wyndhams Theatre in London. The final act is set in London at the moment when the House of Commons has decided upon the impeachment; but nearly three-fourths of the action passes within the walls of a single room in Calcutta. Baroness Imhoff appears under that name: and she and the other historical characters are permitted to act and speak and dress as they acted, spoke and dressed in real life. If history is to be dished up on the stage, it is surely not too much to ask that some rein shall be placed upon the imagination of the dramatist, and that unjustifiable liberties shall not be taken with the truth.

EVAN COTTON.

Relation of the Capuchin Missions in Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia and East India (1644-1647).

By Father Ambrose of Rennes, O. Cap.
Translated from the Latin by the Rev. H. Hosten, S.J.

This Relation was first published in *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, Romae, Curia Generalis, 71, Via Boncompagni, Vol. XLII, fasc. XI, Nov. 15, 1927, pp. 251-267. The Relation is preceded by a *Brevis Dilucidatio* (pp. 250-251), which, like the notes, I take to be by the anonymous editor.

St. Joseph's College, Darjeeling, August, 1928.

SHORT EXPLANATION.

(P. 250, col. 1). In the year 1641, the new Province of Brittany having sprung from the Province of Tours, the Missions formerly entrusted to the sole Province of Tours were divided into two parts. One of these, the Custody of Aleppo, was given to the Province of Tours; the other, the Custody of Palestine, to the Province of Brittany (1).

The Custody of Aleppo, of which there is question in the *Relation* we shall publish, consisted of the following stations: Aleppo, Cairo, Nicosia in Cyprus, Larnaca in Cyprus, Diarbekir, Mossul, Bagdad, Mardin, Tauris, Ispahan, and in a broad sense, of the two residences recently erected at Surat and Madras. (col. 2.)

In 1644, the Minister General, Fr. Innocent of Calatagirone, sent, as Visitor of this Custody, Fr. Ambrose of Rennes, a member of the Tours Province. This appears clearly from the *Relation*, made by Fr. Ambrose himself in 1647 about his Visitation, which he addressed to his "Very Reverend Paternity," then residing in France, where "he was busy with the so hard affairs and visitation of our Order." The latter is not the Minister of the Tours Province, of whom he speaks indirectly at p. 27, but Fr. Innocent of Calatagirone, the Minister General, who went to France in 1647 to visit the Province of the Order there (2). (P. 267, col. 1)

(1) *Bullarium Ordinis FF Minorum S P Francisci Capuccinorum*, t. V, p. 302; t. VII, pp. 209, 309

(2) On the occasion of the Canonical Visitation made in France by Fr. Innocent, Pope Innocent X addressed letters of commendation to His Most Christian Majesty, King Louis XVI, to the Queen-Mother Anne of Austria, to the King's uncle, Vexin, Duke of Orléans, and to the Prime Minister Julius Cardinal Mazarin. These are quoted in *Bullarium*, t. V, p. 195, sqq.

We find little about the author of this *Relation*. According to the (*Statistica Provinciae Turonensis*,) kept in the General Archives of the Order, he entered our Order on Dec. 14, 1610. He laboured with success as a preacher in the Province, chiefly among the heretics. We read in *Relatio generalis Missionis Pictaviensis* (3) written after 1727: "Rev. Father Ambrose of Rennes, a distinguished preacher, during eight full years of mission-work in the whole Province, has already saved from heresy at least two hundred and fifty persons; among them many of the nobility, and one, an elder in the sect of Calvin, made their profession [of faith] . . ." No other mention of him occurs in the extant documents of the ancient Tours Province.

We surmise that the good Father died on his return, perhaps at our residence of Ispahan in Persia, whence he sent his *Relation* to the Minister General. He scarcely hoped to return to France without a special help of God: doubtless, owing to the infirmities contracted on so long a journey, he felt his strength unequal to the difficulties by land and sea which were still to be overcome. In that difficult situation he thought it proper to send ahead to the Superior General a brief account of the state of the Mission and what concerned its progress; at the same time he promised to hasten as much as possible his return to France. But, we think that death overtook him meanwhile, probably about 1648.

He did not die altogether. The memory of his labours yet lives in the very beautiful *Relation* he left behind. With it revive also the apostolic labours of several Missionaries, of the chief ones whom our Order gave to the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* during the course of the 17th century, as Fathers Bonaventura of Lude, and Ephrem of Nevers, of whose work he gives an admirable description. (*P. 251, col. 2*)

The reader will at once be struck by the excellence of this *Relation*, not only for the information it gives on the manner of travelling, the customs of the peoples, the towns and countries visited by the narrator, but chiefly for the questions directly concerning the apostolate, as knowledge of the languages, the customs of the natives, the external conditions of the work of the missionaries, e.g., the relations of the Missionaries with the infidels and the dissident Christians, and (the situation arising from) the Portuguese Patronage. As he himself declares, "he relates nothing whatever of which he was not an eye-witness, or which he did (not) himself hear from very trustworthy persons; he relates everything with as much simplicity and candour as if he were at the point of death, about to give an account of his life to his God."

We publish this *Relation* after the manuscript copy kept in the Public Library of Aix in Provence, No. 1284. The Rev. Fr. Armel of Etel, of the Province of Paris, who has rendered great service to the history of our Order in France, had it copied for our purpose. It contains 27 pages in 8vo. We have the place-names as they are written. They are easily

brought back to the modern spelling, e.g., *Moussol* for Mossul, *Spahan* for Ispahan, *Barut* for Beyrouth, *Souratte* for Surat.

* * * *

BRIEF AND TRUE RELATION OF THE VISITATION MADE BY FATHER FRIAR AMBROSE OF RENNES, CAPUCHIN, A MISSIONARY OF THE TOURS PROVINCE, IN EGYPT, SYRIA, CALDEA, PERSIA AND EAST INDIA IN THE YEARS 1644, 45, 46, 47.

[P. 1] (4) Very Reverent Father,

As I scarcely hope I shall ever get back to France without a special help of God, and I clearly feel from the infirmities contracted in so long a journey that I have not the strength to overcome the hardships still awaiting me by land and sea, yet, to satisfy your desire (*P. 252, col. 1*), as signified by Your letter, I continue my journey, and I shall not cease hastening, as much as I can, my return to France, in order that I may be able to converse with Your Most Rev. Paternity and tell you in your presence, by word of mouth, of the many things referring to our Mission; but, as it is not sure that death will not overtake me meanwhile (not knowing the hour, we expect it every minute), I thought it necessary to send to Your Most Rev. Paternity a very brief account of the state of our Mission and of the things concerning its progress and the advancement of this Apostolic ministry, which is most pleasing to God and so conformable to the intentions and zeal of my Seraphic Father St. Francis. With all possible affection I therefore beg of Your Most Reverend Paternity to hear me patiently, and to credit what I shall write in these four or five pages: for I shall not relate anything whatever of which I was not an eye-witness or which I did (not) hear myself from very trustworthy persons. I shall relate everything with as much simplicity and candour [P. 2] as if I were on the point of death, about to give an account of my life to my God, whom I revere and acknowledge in the person of Your Most Rev. Paternity.

IN EGYPT.

So then from Marseilles I arrived at Alexandria of Egypt, once a most famous town, but now quite destroyed, except for the gates and the walls which are still entire. Here are seen the famous column of Pompey, the needle of Cleopatra, carved with Egyptian and symbolic characters, and similar to the one standing at Rome in the Piazza (*platea*), the ruins of the portico built in the sea by Cleopatra on an infinite number of porphyry columns, the Church of St. Athanasius now turned into a mosque, the cistern in which the Saint was hidden, the chair of St. Mark in the small Church of the Cophts, part of the column stained with the blood of St. Catherine in the Church of the Greeks, the ruins of Cleopatra's palace, and, (*P. 252, col. 1*) as they say, of the palace of King Codrus, the father of St. Catherine, and other such antiquities, which it would be too long to descri-

(4) The original pagination is shown in square brackets.—H.H.

Having greeted the French Consul, who received me with much honour in his house, I was given a janissary and the necessary viaticum, and I left at once the next day, at his advice, for Great Cairo, in contradistinction from old Cairo, which is nearly destroyed. Embarking on a small boat hired at our expense, we sailed (*partigamus*) on an arm of the Nile which flows into the Mediterranean near Rosetta, a pretty big and well-built town, chiefly along the harbour formerly called Canopus. New or Great Cairo is a very fine and populous town. It has one thousand and more large mosques with high and artistically built towers. In this city, besides the Moors or Mahometans, an infinite number of Jews and other infidel foreigners from all over the world, there are many Christians, called Cophts, the most ancient of all Christians, Greeks, Armenians and Roman Christians from France and Italy.

The Mission works with much fruit among the Cophts, who are rather docile. Their Patriarch, who styles himself Bishop of Alexandria, a simple and good man, allows ours to deal freely with his Christians [P. 3] and to treat of religion. On Sundays, Ours preach without any opposition in their churches in Arabic. The Mission also works in two or three monasteries of St. Anthony and St. Macarius, twelve or fifteen miles from Cairo: but the Missionary must take care not to go alone; for fear of the Arabs, who would either rob or kill him, he must always take with him one of the religious of those Monasteries, who will accompany him willingly with others, laymen. Near those monasteries there are many towns with a mixed population of Cophts and Turks, all of whom receive us kindly in their houses and deal with us (*P. 253, col. 1*) more freely than in the city itself. In these towns we preach, teach the Catechism, hear confessions, and perform the duties of the Mission, not without great utility to souls, provided our dealings with them be humble, gentle, modest, full of affability and charity, and provided also we conform ourselves to their customs as regards food, wherein they are extremely austere.

Two Missionaries, who would learn Arabic, and, if possible, Turkish, would find there a very abundant (5) harvest, and opportunity for exercising their zeal. If one of them should study the common Greek, an easy language, he could more easily deal with the Greeks, although they are troublesome and hate us more than the Cophts and even the Turks. But, as they have many churches in that city, it might be that, in course of time, with the permission of their Patriarch, occasion be given for preaching in the name of them. At least the Greeks would be helped who from Cyprus, Rhodus, Chios, and other islands of the Archipelago frequent the town for trade and often ask from Ours to give them the sacraments of confession and the Eucharist according to the rite of the Roman Church, as I saw when in Cairo, where we have a very big house and a well-adorned chapel where we celebrate Mass, and [P. 4] regularly perform, as in other hospices,

The *satis* uses *satis* with an adjective or adverb in what seems to be a superlative, as in old French and assai in Italian. For once I translate it here by *very*.—

with great peace of mind and devotion the exercises of religion, nay with such exemplary life and poverty that the French and Italian merchants admire our manner of life and provide us abundantly for God's sake with all the necessaries of life. I shall not say anything else about the antiquities of that town, and of Old Cairo, formerly called Babylon of Egypt. There are books full of such narratives, and to keep back Your Most Reverend Paternity in reading them, chiefly when You are busy with such hard affairs and the visitation of our Order, would be abusing Your kindness and patience. (P. 253, col. 2)

I saw the very devout garden, called Mataria, three or four miles from Cario, where it is believed the Lord Christ with the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph lived seven years of exile in Egypt. I celebrated Mass in the fine Church of the Cophts at Old Cairo, on a small subterranean altar where they say the Blessed Virgin had often deposited the Infant Christ. I saw those immense Pyramids, which alone, of the seven wonders so celebrated in all antiquity, are still extant. I entered one of them, the larger one, with burning lights, and, going up, with great difficulty, along tunnels skilfully made with large squared stones forming that entire mass of pyramids, I penetrated up to a large room, ingeniously placed at the very navel of that Pyramid. Here nothing else is found than an empty sepulchre of stone, eight or ten feet long, wherein was to be laid the body of the Pharaoh who cast out of Egypt the sons of Israel, after the miracles wrought by Moses about the Nile and the valley or vast plain of the town of Memphis, vestiges of which still exist nine miles from Cairo, beyond the Nile and the country of Cairo, in a great town which I passed going to the Pyramids.

I saw also near the Pyramids the head of the statue or idol of Memphis; it is of monstrous size and formerly wrought miracles [*miracula* for *oracula*?] for that senseless people. Being empty within, it can hold three or four men, who, by a secret tunnel into which I penetrated, used to go stealthily from the greater Pyramid [P. 5] up to that idol and there gave oracles to inquirers, as if the god himself had spoken. I saw the granaries made, they say, by the Patriarch Joseph in time of famine, but to me they appeared of doubtful authority. I did not, however, see the well of Joseph in the very citadel [*area*: for *arce*?] of Cairo, though, while I was at Cairo, the Chaplain of the French Consul saw it and gave me a full description of it. (P. 254, col. 1) The Turks do not easily allow access to the citadel and the well. They fear that the water of that well, which serves for the whole citadel, be spoiled by the Christians and rendered poisonous.

Having finished my visitation there, I took a companion who knew Arabic perfectly, and by another arm of the Nile went down to Damietta formerly Pelusium. Here we have a residence and two missionaries, who labour chiefly for the conversion of the Greeks of that city. They have a small church, in which I assisted at their divine offices and at the mass. That arm of the Nile which, about 12 miles below Cairo, branches from the other, and forms with the desert from Damietta up to Alexandria the famous Delta of ancient writers, is like the other full of...

on both sides along the bank. The soil along the Nile is well cultivated and planted with palm-trees and other fruit-bearing trees, as far as the Nile reaches when it overflows, which happens every year about the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, in the month of September. At the time, having previously obtained with much ceremony and festivity the permission of the Bacha or Viceroy of Egypt, they make channels (*cuniculos*) and rivulets across the country to conduct the water of the Nile, which irrigates the fields on a breadth of two or three leagues on both sides. The fields, expecting no rain from heaven, are made productive by the Nile to a degree which is wonderful. The other parts are the deserts of Thebais and of Schita Nitra. The country is most productive for every kind of pulse, and these are carried up to Constantinople. The air is very wholesome; except a great eye-ache affecting nearly all the inhabitants and foreigners, it is not much subject to other diseases. The people are very untrustworthy and extremely given to robbery; hence a European Christian cannot safely travel without a janissary [P. 6.]

The town of Damiata is almost entirely destroyed, as are the other towns, with a few exceptions, which I traversed. Formerly it was most famous; (*P. 25*, *col. 2*) now it is a small emporium frequented by Egyptians and the islanders of the Archipelago. The Nile bathes part of the walls yet extant and flows towards the Mediterranean Sea, where its very wholesome waters mix with the briny sea between two castles formerly built by King St. Louis; one of them still stands; the other is nearly destroyed. At Damiata the Mission works for the salvation of souls and the utility of the Greeks, who there are pretty docile; for they have not a high opinion of holiness of their priests and religious, owing to their avarice and drunkenness and other too open excesses: they reverence our fathers for their austerity, poverty, learning and zeal of souls, and often complain that they cannot receive from their priests the sacraments of confession and of the eucharist unless they first pay a very big sum of money. One of ours, who does Mission work there, wrote that during the Easter Feasts he heard the confessions of many; they confess willingly to our Fathers and will do so in future: for our Fathers give the Sacraments gratis and with utmost charity and patience, without any distinction of persons.

IN SYRIA.

From Damiata, where I stayed twenty days, waiting for a ship, the journey being safer and shorter by sea than by land, I set out on a galiot to go to Sidon, hugging the whole Palestine coast. We disembarked at the port of Jaffa, and at the port of ancient Tyre, now Sour, inhabited by a very few poor fishermen. We passed by the town of St. John of Accon or Acre, formerly Ptolemais, where stands only the Church of the Templars, the walls of which are entire; but the church is deserted and is daily profaned by the extreme uncleanness of the Turks. It is about six leagues from Haifa. (too) along the sea are the remarkable ruins of a very strong castle of the Master of the Knights of Jerusalem, with many

houses in which the Knights lived together in a Convent, the ruins of which excite the admiration of the beholder. I passed also near the foot of Mount Carmel, where the Carmelite Fathers have a Church and little cells in the rock.

Since the whole of Palestine belongs to the Mission of the Fathers of the Province of Brittany, I went in another small ship from Sidon, where I stayed a few days, to Beryt and from there to Tripoli of Syria. I visited Mount Lebanon (*Libani*), three leagues from Tripoli, and saw the remaining cedars. I was present at the election of the Patriarch of the Maronites, who calls himself Patriarch of Antioch. The election took place in the greater monastery, called Coenobium, where there is a very fine Church cut out of the rock, with two belfries (*campanis*) also cut out of the rock. This election was made with great solemnity by four Maronite Bishops and a numerous concourse of the whole of that people, which lives at Tripoli, Barut, Sydon, and in the very beautiful and fertile Lebanon Mountains. At the election one of ours, Fr. Britius (6), discoursed in Arabic, congratulating the new Patriarch, who insisted with us that we should testify by authentic deed that his election had been canonical. To the Patriarch's great satisfaction, I gave it him at once, in Latin, signed by three Capuchins and two Carmelites (there) present. The next day we conducted him (*P. 255, col. 2*) honourably to Tripoli, to make reverence to the Bacha, according to the existing custom. He sent the testimonial letter to Rome, in proof (of his election) and to obtain the sovereign Pontiff's confirmation. I omit here many other things which I saw in that sea tract, and go back to speak briefly of the things of our Mission.

From Tripoli, in seven days and travelling by land with a caravan, I arrived at Alep. Here I was received by ours with much charity, and performed with great peace and satisfaction the work enjoined by my superiors. I found all the Fathers so fervent in the work of the Mission that there was no need of exhortation to animate and strengthen them. Here it was proposed unanimously [*P. 8*] that the Custodians and Superiors should no longer be appointed for life, as was the custom heretofore, but for three years, as in the other parts, at Alep, and elsewhere in the Orient. They notified this to the Rev. Father Provincial, who approved of it and ordered it to be executed. For, at the death of Father Bonaventura, who had been many years Custodian, he who had accompanied me on my journey as far as Persia was appointed in his place. Alep is a big town, one of the chief ones of the Turkish dominions. It has a spacious citadel, (well) supplied with arms. It lies 76 miles from the sea or from the

(6) Fr. Britius of Rennes published in 1653 and 1671, at the expense of the S. C. de Propaganda Fide, an Arabic Epitome of the *Annales ecclesiastici* of Cardinal Baronius; for forty six years he was busy preparing an Arabic edition of the Holy Bible, which the S. C. de Propaganda Fide published in 1671. He died at Saïda on Febr. 18, 1671. Cf. *Abondance de Peiresc avec plusieurs Missionnaires et Religieux de l'Ordre des Capucins*, Apollinaire de Valence, O. M. Cap., pp. 320, 324, Paris, 1892; Fr. Clemente da Tor Le Missioni dei Minori Cappuccini, t. V, pp. 87, 130-134, Rome, 1910.

harbour of Alexandretta of Syria, and has a French, Venetian and English Consul, with many merchants who give us alms with charity.

Here, there are many Maronites, Greeks, Syrians, Nestorians, Jacobites and Armenians. While he was alive, Rev. Father Bonaventura carried on his Mission for sixteen years, and he won so much praise that his death was much regretted by all the Christians, who in tears accompanied him to the grave (7). Every (*P. 256, col. 1*) Sunday he preached in the Church of the Maronites, with so much success that even the schismatics liked to hear him and that he was invited to religious discussions, at which he was shown the highest reverence and honour. He catechised the little children in public and in private, in the houses, where men and women of more advanced age would assemble and eagerly hear him explain familiarly the articles of the faith. He would visit the Turkish notabilities, who held him in honour for the affability of his conversation, his venerable appearance, his polite manners, and chiefly for his knowledge of Turkish, which like Arabic was to him familiar.

We must note here that without Turkish, a language widely known all over the Orient up to the Indies, it is impossible to win the familiarity or friendship of the nobles: for, though many know Arabic, or the Vulgar tongue, they do not condescend to use it in visits of friends, but speak only Turkish, which is considered more refined and used at the Porte of the Sultan of Constantinople and among the courtiers. We must say the same of Persian in the palaces of the King of East India, chiefly at the court of the very powerful King the Great Mogol, because [*P. 9*] it is considered more elegant by the grandees and is more common among them.

The Hospice of Alep is the headquarters and centre of our Mission; hence, it must be maintained with care, and be filled with excellent Missionaries, who can be sent by the Custodian to other residences as opportunity and the needs of places require. Three Missionaries at most, or four, with a lay Brother can live there, as the house is large and the cells very convenient; they can live partly on alms daily begged according to our rule, and partly on the generosity of the Most Christian King who furnishes a sufficient maintenance to all our Oriental Missions. They exercise their Mission among the Maronites, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians and others, who, though using distinct languages among themselves, speak however all in familiar conversation either Arabic or Turkish. (*P. 256, col. 2*)

IN MESOPOTAMIA.

After a fortnight's stay there, taking occasion of a good strong caravan going to Babylon, I started with a companion and a lay Brother. We traversed the whole of Mesopotamia from the Euphrates to the Tigris, though not without difficulties and dangers from the Arabs and Turcomani, who

(7) Fr.

(a Turk died) in 1045, he was succeeded as Custodian of Aleppo by Alghayen. Cf. *Correspondance de Perse*, op. cit., p. 324; Clemente da

always waylay the caravans and try to despoil them of their goods. One night they tried it, but without success. We were well armed with escopets, lances and arrows. Our Merchants and some Janissaries rushed up at these robbers and wounded many. Having caught one of them, they took him to the city of Bire, where we crossed the Euphrates, and handed him over for punishment to the Magistrates. What happened to him I know not, since the caravan continued its journey the next day.

We passed through Orpha, anciently Edessa. The Jews call it Ur of the Chaldeans, but rather foolishly, it seems to me, since it (Orpha) is in Mesopotamia, and not in Chaldea, unless they want to say, as [P. 10] I heard from some, that it was first built by Abraham the Chaldean. Here there are the ruins of the great monastery of St. Ephrem, the deacon of Edessa. Here is a church of the Armenians, the ruins of which show it was once a grand edifice: we were entertained in it during eight days, receiving alms from the Armenians, who received us very kindly; and they admitted us daily to their prayers and ceremonies, laying carpets for us and giving us the most honourable place after the Bishop. The Syrians also have a Church and a Bishop, whom I went to greet, and who received me kindly in his little house.

The walls of Orpha are entire and very strong, but the city within the walls is for a great part destroyed by the Turks. From Orpha we continued our journey through the very vast, but almost deserted plains of Mesopotamia up to Assyria, and we arrived at a certain city which they call (*P. 257, col. 1*) Moussol. It is built among the ruins of ancient Ninive, as appears from the vast and spacious plain on both sides of the Tigris, where are still seen traces of the buildings, or rather of the ruins, of Canoe, and some vaults and subterraneous buildings, which owing to the short time I could not examine, and besides there is not as much freedom for strangers, chiefly for Christians, to examine carefully all those antiquities and to roam about. Moussol is washed on one side by the Tigris, which flows towards Babylon, a distance of ten days, and has on both banks large cities and towns quite destroyed and desolate. About twenty miles from the city of Moussol, a mountain is seen, burning continually and belching forth at night sulphurous flames. We arrived safely at Babylon, greatly longing to see our Fathers: from Alep to Babylon we had had to live 40 days and more taking only bread, water and rice, and sleeping on the ground in the open.

At Moussol, where there are many Armenians, Nestorians and Jacobites with their special Churches, we had lately a very small and pretty convenient hospice, where three of ours had lived five or six years, reaping no small fruit among the schismatics, living on alms, preaching in their Churches and hearing many confessions. But, some occasion having been given or received, and owing, it is believed, to the jealousy and hatred of the schismatic priests, [P. 11] ours were expelled from a but built by them for the greater convenience of the place. The three were thrown into prison by the Bacha and were badly treated.

only bread and water, and an enormous sum of money being exacted from the Christians. Finally they were expelled, and, though I brought with me from the Sultan of Constantinople letters-patent and an express order to make us be readmitted into the town and into the very house which had been the occasion of our expulsion, and though we were well (*P. 257, col. 2*) received by the Bacha who had succeeded to the other, and showed him the Emperor's order, and he gave us leave to remain in the town, yet it was quite impossible to get the order executed; the Christians themselves opposed us strongly, not that they do not show us much esteem and honour, but they feared other vexation after our return, on account of the exercise of our Mission. That place was therefore abandoned by order of my Superiors until some other time when it will please God to re-open the gate for our Mission among those Christians, who are very docile and have high opinion of our ability and sanctity.

So, leaving Moussol, where our Fathers had suffered persecution, and where we did not insist further with the Christians, who had too recently been punished with a pecuniary fine of two thousand ducats and more, we arrived, as I said, at Bagdad or Babylon, situated on the Tigris. Here, in our house, I found only one Missionary with a lay Brother, who does Mission work among the Armenians, Nestorians and Jacobites, and receives his daily sustenance from the very schismatics, thanks to the solicitude of the Christians, who take care that nothing be wanting to ours. Our church is their parish, chiefly of the Jacobites, who receive from ours all the sacraments after the Roman rite. Formerly our house was rather convenient and ample; it had been given us by the Persians before Bagdad (8); it was given back to us and confirmed to us by the Turks; but now it reflects more our poverty: for we were forced to pull down about half and the best rooms, lest we should give occasion to the soldiers in the town [*P. 12*] of lodging at our place and of ill-treating as they used to do, our brothers, committing against them there many wrongs, which they bore patiently. (*P. 258, col. 1*)


They enjoy more freedom and tranquillity now, though, as regards conversations, it is not so easy to speak with the Turks or even to go out in town without continual fear of being ill-treated by the Janissaries. The Missionary who is obliged to leave the house must take very good care not to have drunk wine or brandy: for, if a Janissary discovers it from his breath, he will be put to great shame and will at times go home with a beating, as happened to a Missionary who, after saying Mass, went at once into the town for some urgent affairs to speak to the Cadi, or supreme judge: he was found out from the smell of the wine, and was obliged to go back with shame. Ours do not use wine at all, except at Mass; it is not for sale, and cannot be brought into the town except secretly, so that it is difficult to find any for celebrating Mass; and so, our sole conversation is with the Christians who, though schismatics, communicate all of them in the

Church with ours. Their priests make no difficulty, and, if they happen to fall ill, they call at once our missionaries to receive consolation, and, when the illness grows serious, to receive extreme unction.

This Babylon of Chaldea is that ancient town so famous in sacred and profane writers. It is now destroyed to such an extent that the ruins of it hardly appear; it is situated about twenty miles from this new town, like that town built in the plain of Sennaar and so famous among the Turks of which some vestiges are still shown, *e.g.*, bricks, bitumen, and a high and spacious place, though, in my opinion, all these things are very doubtful. So then, the present new Babylon is surrounded with walls and towers, gates, ditches and a very (*utcumque*) strongly fortified citadel. On one side, towards the west, the Tigris flows near the walls of the town, pursuing its course to the Arabian Sea or Persian Gulf. It is joined by the Euphrates about a day's journey from the town of Babylon, and it flows into the sea at the city of Balsora. It has a bridge made of boats joined together. (*P.* 258, *col.* 2) It has a suburb with gardens [*P.* 13] watered with the water of the Tigris, where grow (8^b) and other fruit-bearing trees.

IN PERSIA.

After finishing my visitation, I started with a caravan going to Spahan, the Court of Persia. Though usually it is a journey of 40 days, I was delayed 56 days, owing to such an abundance of snow that it is scarcely credible what hardships we endured on that journey and what wretchedness of hunger and cold we suffered. More than a hundred times I fell into the heaps of snow and was buried in the snow up to my neck, and, as the precipices of very high mountains could not then be seen and avoided, I often wallowed in the snow until I fainted, and surely it is an evident miracle of the divine protection that we did not lose our life in the snows, the rocks and precipices, chiefly as three men of the caravan were smothered.

Finally, we arrived at Spahan, the Royal city. Very vast, it is girt with walls of mud and sun-dried bricks, without ditches, rampart, bulwarks or towers. Here is the seat of the kingdom and of the King of the Persians. It is situated in a very large plain on all sides surrounded by very high mountains and rocks very hard of access. It is watered by a small river, which they conduct by ditches into the city (where every house mostly has a garden adjoining) and also to the neighbouring farms (*villas*) for the irrigation of the fields. It never rains near Spahan; but, through the industry of the cultivators and their continual care of conducting (the water) here and there roundabout, the country abounds in wheat, barley, wine and fruits of every sort, and of the same kind as ours. All the houses are made of earth and sun-dried bricks; but the buildings are solid and last a hundred years and more. Outside they appear mean, but they are adorned within with gold, paintings (*picturis*) and  colours.

(8^b) Some name of tree appears to be omitted here.—H.H.

applied so skilfully as to give great pleasure to the onlooker. The King's palace (*P. 259, col. 1*) is not of another material, but inside it is nothing but gold all round. The reason why the houses are made of mud is not scarcity of stone (for they have plenty of black marble, jasper, and other stones: all the neighbouring mountains and rocks [*P. 14*] contain marble), but because mud and bricks are more easy to handle there; when they have become hard, they do not yield.

Properly Spahan is not in Persia, but bordering on Persia. It is on the limits of the Kingdom of the Parthians. Nor was it formerly the royal city, but only a town. Sixty years ago, the Kings of the Persians fixed their seat there on account of the pleasantness of the place and the small river. From a small town it has become a very big and very opulent city, the Metropolis of the Kingdom. It has market-places, porticoes, and a very fine square before the King's palace, and is stocked with countless goods brought from India and the whole Orient. There is also built over the river a bridge so artistic that I have not seen any other to compare with it, not for length, but for artistic structure. Chiras, a ten days' journey from Spahan, was also formerly a big city. It was the Metropolis of the Kingdom of the Persians. Its site is very pleasant; the soil produces fruits in abundance. It is now going to ruin owing to the absence of the King and of the courtiers. I passed through it, going to Ormus.

At Spahan we have a complete convent, a devout church, the choir, cells, a refectory, very convenient workshops (*officinas*) and arched, (*arcuatas*), as the manner of building is all over Persia, where wood is very rare. It has a very fine garden and very large; for it contains a big vineyard, which gives us wine enough for the whole year. Here it is necessary to make use of money, as there are no people who can or wish to give alms; I did not however, remark any excess; everything is furnished with strictness, and, as much as possible, according to need, from the King's alms. Here there are usually four Missionaries with a lay Brother. All do their Mission (*P. 529, col. 2*) with as much freedom as if they were in France. They converse very freely with the Persians, discuss with the doctors of the law, called Moullas, about the Faith, and the Alcoran, and with so much confidence that they often admire the affability and courtesy of the Persians. They admit them freely to their houses for greetings and chats; they come to our convent and there discuss sundry questions about the Trinity, [*P. 15*] the Incarnation, the Resurrection and Mahomet, as familiarly as if they were Christians.

In this city, besides three or four Roman Christians and Dutch and English heretics, there is an infinite number of Armenians, whom King Behc Abbas transferred from Armenia to this town, assigning them a separate place, two miles from the town, which is called New Julfa, to distinguish it from the Julfa whence they were carried hither. At Julfa there are twelve very large churches, adorned with various paintings (*picturae*) and in the town they have four or five. There are also worshippers of the Sun. Our Missionaries converse with all

these, discuss with their Vertabrets (*Vertabretis*), that is preachers of religion, but very ignorant, and with their priests, who are also unlearned; they visit them, and to some they administer secretly the sacrament of confession; but their Bishops are opposed and most of the priests, who hate the Pontiff and Church of Rome more than the Calvinists and Lutherans themselves, so much so that I wondered why at Rome the Armenians are tolerated, and received so charitably even, since they vomit such opprobrious things on the Sovereign Pontiff, the Cardinals, the Church and the Religious.

There is also here a convent of the Fathers of St. Augustine, Portuguese of the Province of Goa, and another of Discalced Carmelites from Italy. Four or five months ago the Fathers of the Society of Jesus also came here from France to found a residence, but the matter is not yet settled. So, when I had finished the visitation and determined what was required for the good of the Mission, (*P. 260, col. 1*) my companion returned to Cairo, where he was Superior, and I remained at Spahan, according to the intention of my Superiors.

IN INDIA.

Meanwhile I received from the Rev. Father Provincial a letter in which he urgently asked me to go, if possible, over to India, to visit the two Missionaries of our Province who have lived there 10 years, and to examine carefully and soon (*mature*) whether there was hope of a large Mission in those parts. So, to comply with the will of my Superiors, I set out from Spahan alone, the house refusing me a companion, because of the requirements of the place and other reasons. I spent 35 days on the journey by land, and arrived at the harbour of Ormus, called Bender Abassy, where the ships of the English and Dutch come at certain fixed times of the year, that is from the month of November to the end of April, the Sea, that is the Persian Gulf, being closed and contrary to navigators during the other months.

Here I embarked on an English ship and in twenty days crossed the Persian Gulf and parts of the Arabic Sea, a distance of 40 English leagues. Finally, I arrived at a port of India, called Sovali, 12 miles from Souratte, which is the first and chief port of the Mogol Kingdom. Fr. Zeno, having heard of my arrival, at once came to visit me here, to take me to Souratte in a covered carriage, drawn by two white oxen, as the custom of travelling is in those parts, where horses, camels and mules are very rare (*9*) (*P. 260, col. 2*) Souratte is a vast town, not surrounded by any walls. In the middle of the river it has a castle, subject to the Mogol, the most powerful King of East India, who has there a governor and a garrison of soldiers.

(9) He is Fr. Zeno of Baugé, who with Fr. Ephrem of Nevers was the first among the Capuchins to settle in India, at the town of Surat, then the first port of India (1639). He died at Madras in 1687. Cf. Fr. Rocco da Cosinale, O. M. Cap., *Storia della Missione dei Cappuccini in India*, t. III, p. 298. Rome, 1873, *Correspondence de Persie*, op. cit., p. 328; *Die Katholischen Missionen in Indien, China und Japan*, p. 195 seq., *Paganism and its Missions*, by the Capuchin Mission Unit, p. 105 sq., New York, 1908.

for holding that Port (*illius Scalae*) (10). There are here Dutch and English, many merchants from Persia and other parts of India, Bananians (11) of various sects and languages, who worship their idols in pagodas, the most superstitious of men and the shrewdest of merchants.

Rev. Father Zeno has a hired house, in which he adorned a small chapel for celebrating Mass. He has few Roman Christians, but many Armenians, who come every year from Persia to Souratte, to go thence for trade to all parts of India: to the Kingdom of Cambaia, also subject to the aforesaid King, to Guzerate, Visapour, Bacantour, Colconda, and other Kingdoms, to Goa, also to Cochin, Bengal, Pegu, and also to Japan and China. When the Armenians stay at Souratte, they frequent freely our church, hear mass and the sermon, which Father Zeno preaches every Sunday in Portuguese. They make their confession to the Father, who hopes to obtain soon from the daughter of the Mogol King, now the Lady of Souratte, leave to build a house and church, where he may more conveniently celebrate the divine offices, and exercise his ministrations with companions long expected from France, but not yet obtained. I know not why.

He also receives with all charity the foreign religious who every year go from Goa to Agra, Sind (*in Smidh*) and elsewhere, or who from Persia go to Goa, and have no other hospice than our house. If Your Very Reverend Paternity resolved firmly and fast, not only to found the Indian Mission (*P. 261, col. 1*) but to maintain it for good, the hospice of Souratte is not only convenient, but absolutely necessary, because it is easier to go to India from Persia than from Lisbon, where many have already met with refusal, chiefly the Italians, for many reasons which I learned in India, but which it is not expedient to express here. I know also from reliable knowledge and experience that in future the Dutch and English will not take to the Indies from the port of Ormus or from Balsora any Religious of whatever order or nationality except the French Capucins, for many political considerations which they adduce, and I lately saw Carmelite Fathers repulsed from the ships with insults and shame and a thousand indignities. The Portuguese do the same, by order of the Viceroy of India, D. Philip Mascaregnas, who expressly forbade to admit at the Long Port (*in Portu Longo*), three stages from Ormus, at Port Ric, and Balsora, any Religious going to India, except only the native Portuguese, which, as I saw, he carries out strictly. And a public proclamation was lately made at Goa, by order of the King of Portugal, saying that all non-Portuguese Religious [*P. 18*] should return to Europe travelling on board Portuguese ships. This order was opposed not without murmur and scandal by the Carmelites, the Theatines, the Rev. Archbishop of Myrrha, a Franciscan, (12) saying that they were Missionaries of the Pope, from whom

(10) The Emperor of India was then Shah Jehan, who at Agra, on the bank of the Jumna, erected to his wife Mumtaz Mahal a marble mausoleum, called Taj Mahal, so splendid that the like of it is nowhere to be seen in the whole world.

(11) From the Hindusthani word *Baniya*: merchant.

(12) S. Felice, archbishop of Myra in *partibus infidelium*.

they have the power of exercising their Missions in all parts of the world, even in spite of opposition from Kings, Prelates and others. Whether that is true, they will see themselves. However, the question is not settled, and they remain at Goa, even with scandal, excepting the Rev. Provincial of the Carmelite Fathers, who is of Verona; they sent him away, and I saw him at Spahan, where he now lives. I very much suspect and fear that the Capucins, whom, as I was told, (*P. 261, col. 2*) Your Very Reverend Paternity sent to Lisbon to sail for India, will get a rebuff (13).

To return to my interrupted narrative, I had decided to remain six or seven months at Souratte, until the rains, which are continual there in the months of June, July, August, and September, should cease and I should have again a suitable season for returning to Persia. Getting the opportunity of an English ship going direct to Madraspatan, where resides the Rev. Father Ephrem of Nevers (14), a Missionary of my Province, I set out in the hope of returning by another English ship. I passed through Goa, where our ship cast anchor, unloaded some goods, and took in water, and I stayed three days there with the Franciscan Fathers, *de Caputio* (15), as they are called, not the Recollects or Soccolantes of Italy. They received me with much kindness in their convent of the Mother of God, (*P. 262, col. 1*) to distinguish it from two other converts which they have at the extremity of the island (16).

I make no description of Goa, because I was there a very short time. I know, however, that at Goa there are three convents of the Augustinians, three of the Paulists or Jesuits, and in the island of Salsede, near to Goa, one with 30 rectories or parishes which the Rev. Paulist Fathers, who possess the whole of that Island, rule and administer, one of Discalced Carmelites, two of St. Francis of the Observance, three of Dominicans,

(13) They are Frs. Zacharias a Finale, Prosper a Reggio, and the lay Brother Ignatius a Valsasna, sent to India on April 25, 1645. On their arrival at Lisbon, the Portuguese Government refused to allow them to go to the East Indies, in spite of the repeated instances of the S.C. de Propaganda Fide, and also of Cardinal d'Este. Finally, when they had in vain waited two years for the permission to start, the Sacred Congregation ordered them to go to our Mission of Aleppo.

(14) Fr. Ephrem of Nevers, one of the chief Missionaries of the Order of Minor Capuchins in the 17th century, knew Persian, Arabic, English and Portuguese. He was acceptable to all: Catholics, heretics, chiefly the English residing at Madras, and the infidels. About his detention in the prison of the Holy Inquisition at Goa, for false allegations and reasons, cf. Fr. Rocco da Cesinale, *op cit.*, p. 312 sq., and Fr. A. Jann, *op. cit.* p. 197 sq.

(15) The Friars Minor of the "strictest observance" were called Friars *de Capucio* (of the cowl). They began in Spain at the end of the 15th century, under John of Guadalupe, and spread in Portugal in the next century. They wore a peaked cowl, whence also their name: Friars Minor of the Observance, called Capuchins. They were under the obedience of the Minister General of the Observants, but there was no connection between them and the Order of Minor Capuchin Friars, which was first approved by Clement VII, on July 8, 1528.

(16) R. M. Telles, *Os Franciscanos no Oriente e seus Conventos*, p. 8, Nova-Goa, 1923; Idem, *Poterello de Assis*, p. 33, Nova-Goa, 1926; A. Dias, *Serafim de Assis*, p. 91; *Franciscanos em Goa e seus conventos*, Ribandar, 1926; F. X. da Costa, *Anais franciscanos*, p. 11, Nova-Goa, 1926; F. X. Gomes Cata, *Subsidios para a Historia da Diocese de Goa*, in the periodical *Heraldo*, April-May, 1926, Nova-Goa.

three of Capucins (17), one of the Theatines, and one of the Religious (*Religiosorum*) of St. Augustine. Therefore, since there is such a large number of Religious at Goa, I do not see why it be so necessary to found there a hospice of Capucins.

From Goa we continued our route through the Indian Ocean, and we passed [P. 19] within sight of Cochin, Cananor (*Cananos* in MS.), and Cranganore; we went beyond the Cape of Comorin, where there are nearly always storms, thunderings rains, and unbearable heats; we experienced these, going and returning, not without great risk of life, and going all round the island of Ceilan, where grows the cinnamon, and nowhere else, I believe, is it found in such plenty. Finally, one arrives at the coast of the Gangetic Sea, called *Golpho de Bengale*, within sight of the sea-tract called *Costa* (*Conta* in MS.) *de Coromandel*, where is situated, almost in the centre of it, the town of Madraspatan. It is on the *terra firma* of India, subject to the King of Bisnaga, whom they call king of the Gentiles, since of all (P. 262, col. 2) the kings of India he is a Gentile, or Idolater, the other Kings being Mahumetans.

In that town there is a very strong citadel held by the English. It is near the very strong town of the Portuguese, called St. Thomas, and by the Natives, Meliapour. Near it, that is about six or seven miles from it, the very Malabar gentiles believe from tradition that St. Thomas was crowned with martyrdom on a mountain called the Great Mount, to distinguish it from another near by, which is called Little Mount. On the top of Great Mount there is a very fine church on the very spot where St. Thomas is believed to have expired, after he had been wounded to death with lances by the gentiles on Little Mount, two miles from the other (Mount), where there is a church and a big house used by the Paulists as a place of recreation. I celebrated Mass on Great Mount, above the tomb of St. Thomas, the Apostle of the Indies. Within the town there are Paulists or Jesuits, Dominicans, and Augustinians with a large Episcopal church; outside the town are Franciscans of the Observance.

Now, when our ship had reached the harbour, the Rev. Father Ephrem came to meet me at the sea shore with all his Christian people. He came to congratulate me and honour somewhat my unexpected, but long desired, arrival. Certainly, I wondered at seeing such a multitude of Christians in a quite heathen country worshipping pagodas. I marvelled on meeting men, women and children of darkish colour, all going naked with hair hanging down to the ground [P. 20] and covering their nakedness (*verenda*) with a cloth three or four inches (*digitis*) broad. Prostrate on the ground, all kissed my hands and clothes, and they asked my blessing with so much devotion that I could not keep back my tears for joy. They conducted me to the Church which is not far from the shore. When I had made a short prayer there and given my blessing to the people, Father Ephrem (P. 263, col. 1) refreshed me somewhat from the toils of a voyage of at least 600

English leagues. The meal consisted of rice and water, without bread: for they do not use wheat in the whole of that country and in many parts of East India, but only boiled rice with water and salt. It is their only food, the one common to them all. As it came to fail them the last two years, owing to want of rain and excessive drought, it is incredible what an enormous multitude perished of hunger or sold themselves as slaves at ever so small a price. Travelling by land, I saw such mortality, so many corpses lying on the ground, half eaten by dogs and crows, that the excessive stench obliged me to stop up my nose with my handkerchief, and I myself suffered from hunger, on the way, because food was so extremely scarce.

Father Ephrem has a very devout and well-adorned church, with a chapel, choir, two small cells, a refectory, and a sufficiently large garden. All this he got built with alms generously and willingly given by the English and some Christians. All over India, the houses are built in the style of Europe, [P. 21] and are covered with curved bricks (? tiles; *lateribus recurvis*). They do not use terraces on the houses, as in Persia and Turkey. As regards his Mission, I can assert for a certainty that he has so much work that he can scarcely live long without the help of another companion; but, as he is an indefatigable labourer and a truly apostolic man, he shirks no labour, and misses no opportunity of helping his parishioners, to whom, with the permission of the Vicar of the Bishop of St. Thomas, he administers all the Sacraments of the Church, like a parish-priest. On Sundays he sings Mass solemnly with eight or ten boys whom he taught answering in the Roman manner. He preaches in Portuguese with great fervour and universal satisfaction. After the Mass he distributes some alms which the richer entrust to him. After that, standing in the middle, in front of many naked, black, kneeling Malabar children, he recites aloud, in the Malavar tongue, all the Christian prayers, the Our Father, Hail Mary, and the Creed, (P. 263, col. 2) and the children repeat the same words distinctly after him, and so learn to pray to God. After Vespers, which he sings in choir with his boys, after our manner, he teaches the Catechism, and so he spends usefully the whole day.

During the week he visits his parishioners, consoles the afflicted, and helps the oppressed, both Christians and Gentiles. Among the English, who are the lords and masters of that town, and whose language he has learned, he is held in great veneration. Very often, and not without fruit, he discusses with them disputed points of the faith. To finish with one word, he is a true Missionary, the first Capucin who set foot on this shore, and not without many dangers and difficulties. And surely, to tell the truth, it is necessary for him who wishes to carry on a Mission in those parts of India and to stay long that he should prepare himself to bear many inconveniences of life: for he will find there continual and very great heats, winds harmful to our constitution, rice and water for ordinary food, wine only for celebrating Mass, some fruits of a kind and taste quite different from those in Europe, the lack of other things, and frequent illnesses, so much so that you will see few, not only amor

but also among the natives, who reach the grey hairs of old age; yet the whole of India *extra* and *intra* Gangetic, up to China, is so populous that, unless that people be at times consumed by famine or pestilence, the land could not at all feed such a numerous host of people.

That Reverend Father is so busy day and night in his Mission that he has hardly time for rest. The Gentiles, who worship pagodas, that is, the monstrous statues of their gods, and the Moors or Mahometans very often bring to him their infant children, when they are ill, and they ask him to bless them and read the Gospel over their head. He has baptised many when they were near death, and buried them in holy ground, the child's mother and other infidels assisting in silence (*P. 264, col. 1*) at our ceremonies, [P. 22] which they follow attentively. The Bramans too, who are among the Gentiles as priests among us, their teachers, often discuss with him about religion, and, though he could not yet learn the Malavar tongue on account of his infinite occupations both spiritual and temporal, he instructs them, however, in Portuguese, which is rather commonly spread, refutes such gross errors, exhorts them, and slowly prepares them to acknowledge the true faith. He writes very well in the Malavar tongue, though the characters of the letters are very difficult, because they do not write on paper (*charta seu papyro*), as do the Chinese and Japanese, who have most excellent and fine paper, nor with ink, but with an iron style on smooth leaves of trees.

I should never finish saying what, with the grace of God, Father Ephrem and Father Zeno do in both extremities of India for the salvation and conversion of souls. If they wished to relate their story, as I exhorted them to do, I doubt not that it would be of greater edification in Europe than many lies which are sent by some, whom I do not name, even to Rome, every year, in order to deceive souls piously, as they say, in the things regarding the conversion of souls.

As I saw I had to remain some time at Madraspatan, waiting for the ship which had to carry me to Persia, I found an opportunity of not being idle by going partly by sea, partly by land, to Tranquenbar, a very powerful place or fort possessed by the Danes or Danemarchs, 150 miles south of Madraspatan. The Governor, or prefect of the fort, urgently asked us to fix ourselves there, and we had been long desired and expected. So, I started from Madraspatan, did half the route on a galiot, and the rest in four days by land. I had a safe-conduct in the Malavar tongue from the Governor of the fort of Tefnapatam, (*P. 264, col. 2*) a Gentile, who however desired very kindly to receive us in the inner part of the fort, to talk with us in Portuguese, [P. 23] and he gave me two naked, black Malavars to accompany me, paying them out of his own the usual salary. With these two companions I went on foot, without any fear and with little expense; for I always found houses of Portuguese and one of the Dutch, where I slept at night. I crossed an arm of the sea where it flowed into the neighbouring lands. I was obliged to take off my clothes, and, holding them above my head with one hand, I swam with the other as I could, to the other bank. In the out of a single tree-trunk, I crossed the river of fresh water

which flows from Goa, a distance of 200 leagues. Having arrived safe and sound at Tranquenbar, I was received with much honour by the prefect of the fortress, who had long expected a French Capucin, as appears from the letter of the said prefect, a copy of which I sent to France, keeping with me the original, which, if it please God, I shall show to Your Most Reverend Paternity.

That place is a big town. In the square there is a very big temple of Gentiles, which, like the statues of their gods, they call Pagode. It is skilfully built, and painted outside, not inside, because such temples have no windows, but are very dark and evil-smelling. However, they burn lights when they perform their sacrifices and ceremonies. It is frequented from the neighbouring places, because, as they say, of the sacredness of the place. There are in that town many Gentiles and few Moors. The country is good and fertile, the fortress very good. The Governor, though a Lutheran, had a parish church built for the Roman Christians, also a sacristy and a house adjoining the church; all at his own expense, and he promises to furnish the Fathers with everything necessary for their food and clothing, and to give them for the exercise of their Mission as much liberty as at Madraspatan and in France. He could never fall in with the customs of the Portuguese (*P. 265, col. 1*) Religious and Clerics, of whom he could have plenty, if he wished, from the neighbouring town of Negapatam, where the Portuguese are master, and [*P. 24*] where there are Paulists, Dominicans, Augustinians and Franciscans.

I cannot express to Your Reverend Paternity with what feeling and what prayers he requested me to send as soon as possible for his Christianity at least one of our Missionaries. I promised to do so shortly, and surely I would have done it, had I not, on my return to Persia, learned that that Mission did not belong to us any longer, and that the Fathers of my Province had left it, I know not why, without awaiting my return or my letters. As this matter concerns Your Most Reverend Paternity, I beg of you again and again to provide as soon as possible for those three places, where it belongs to us to send to each residence one or two missionaries, learned men, of easy manners, of the sort that will accommodate themselves patiently, and becomingly (*honeste*) to the customs of others, though they differ from ours, men of moderate age, so that they may learn, besides Portuguese, the rather difficult Oriental languages. It will be sufficient, I think, for some time to keep those three places, without running here and there, until a bigger gate open for Missions in Pegu or Japan or China, and I would on no account consent that a hospice be taken at Goa or in any other city where the Portuguese are the masters. They disdain and despise Religious of another nation than their own, because they are people of loose morals, chiefly the *mestiço* (*mestitii*) and natives about Goa, whom they call Canarinos (*Canonicos* in text), so that, when we try heartily to correct them or to frequent the sacraments (*ad sacra frequentanda*), they become very violent enemies. And certainly I saw nowhere such irreverence for holy things, want of devotion, licentiousness of life, and corruption of morals as

God (*P. 265, col. 2*) is neither feared, nor loved, except perhaps by a few Christians, for I always except the good. So much so that I often said to myself with sighs and groans: "God is now known in Europe only, while in India He is quite unknown!"

When I had completed my work at Tranquenbar and had received leave from the prefect of the fortress, who had kept me ten days in the very fortress, he accompanied me to the sea, to provide me with a small ship. It was a wonderful contrivance, one used on the whole of the Coromandel country. It consists of three or at most four beams kept together with a rope and thrown into the sea; it is provided with a small Latin sail, and steered [*P. 25*] by two naked Malavar sailors. I returned in this style to Madraspatan, where the long-expected ship coming from the Red Sea happily landed. Having taken in some goods, the English captain admitted me also with great kindness, and, as the ship was not sufficiently loaded, it went 300 miles further towards the north and Bengal, up to the port and town called Masulipatam, where I remained eight days in the house of the English. We then set sail and turned our prow on Persia. I shall say briefly that in that town and port a Mission can be founded. When opportunity arises, two Missionaries can be sent there, because there are many English and Dutch, who received me with charity and good-will; there are also some Portuguese Christians, who, though having a church, were then without a priest, on account of the death of the Theatine Father who exercised his mission there and administered to them the sacraments.

RETURN TO PERSIA.

What I suffered during four months on that voyage and my return from India to Persia, is incredible and difficult to relate. Even now I shudder at the remembrance, so much so that, to tell the truth, (*P. 266, col. 1*) I longed for death a thousand times, and was weary of life in such misery as we experienced; for it is quite certain, and all who heard our calamities confessed it candidly, that the salvation and preservation of our ship and its inmates was in very truth a miracle. As we sailed along the whole island of Ceilan, we had the wind all the time so much against us that, after several storms, rains, and thunderings, it drove us up to the Maldivé islands. Our boat went down to one of them to fetch water, of which we were already running short, [*P. 26*] but they could find only cocos. They loaded with them the boat and returned without water, and we, disappointed in our hope, continued our course towards Persia, situated in the north, and still more than 1500 leagues away.

But, as the north wind always kept blowing and was therefore contrary, the ship went slowly; after that came sea-calms, which they call *Calmos* or *Bonaces*, so that we reached such a shortage of water that for 28 days the sailors and I were given 8 ounces, or half a pound, of water, and that daily and for 24 hours. We were reduced to extremity from thirst and the want of other things: for, when water fails on board, everything fails; then we lost sight of the boat with 12 men, who, having been sent to land in search of

water and finding none, refused to return to the ship for fear of imminent death; and surely, after consuming the water, we were doomed to die, had we not [P. 27] through God's infinite mercy and a most evident miracle, when the captain least thought of it and we were awaiting only death, landed at last unexpectedly at a certain port of Arabia Felix, near the town of Zoar. I went down to it with four sailors, in a small boat or raft (*ponte*) made of oars and other timbers joined and tied together with ropes; but it was not without great danger from the sea, into which I fell (*P. 266, col. 2*) and I should have been drowned, if one of the sailors had not stretched out part of the oar he was using and lifted me out of the depth of the sea.

So, when with much toil and failing strength we reached land, the Arabs received us kindly; we took a sufficient quantity of water, bought fruits, eggs, fowls, and other provisions for restoring and refreshing the sailors, all of whom, to a man, lay half-dead in the ship and would infallibly have perished, had we not that very day found that port and water. Blessed be God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all consolation, who against all hope preserved our life miraculously, taking pity on us. At last, we landed at the port of Ormus in Persia, where all the English and Dutch of the town, who thought we had perished, came to meet us at the shore and with intense joy and congratulations received us like men brought to life again and resuscitated. Here, however, owing to hardships of the sea and of thirst endured so long, I fell seriously ill, suffering from a continual burning fever, and I was very near exchanging life with death.

But, with the help of God and the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, I was again snatched from the jaws of death, and, when I had little by little recovered from my illness, I started on the journey, through the desert to Isphahan. I arrived there after 55 days, having suffered no small discomforts of hunger and cold: for that road through the desert is rarely frequented by caravans, and there are on it neither public nor private houses for rest and buying bread, as on the other ordinary and Royal road, but only some small huts of Arabs; and so, the whole of that time we had to sleep in the open air on the ground, which was wet from the frequent rains, and we had often no bread baked in ashes which, when we had an opportunity, we would make like the Arabs, our conductors carrying with them flour in bags. (*P. 267, col. 1*) As for the rest, I suffered so many discomforts during the 8 months I spent on my return from India to Persia that a quartan fever crowned my journey.

I now await a convenient occasion for returning to France, as Your Most Reverend Paternity ordered me in the letter I received, as also the Reverend Father Provincial, whose express obedience I also found here, so that I may give an account of my so long visitation, in order that, should there be need of deliberating about it, . . . Now, I confess that I have erred in many things for I willingly acknowledge myself little fit for exercising such functions, and I shall accept correction and the condign penance for my demerits.

Some Unknown Dealings between Raghoba and the Portugese.

IT is well-known that on the 1st of March, 1776 the East India Company made peace with the Government of Poona, abandoning the cause of the Peshwa Raghoba Dada and stipulating through Colonel Upton that the English should not give him any help.

Raghoba finding himself without the assistance of the English, and fearing that they might by treachery and surprise hand him over to Madhav Rao availed himself of the help of the Portugese and asked the chief of the Portugese navy Joze Sanches de Brito, when he was sailing to Surat in March 1776 to receive him in the ship and take him to the capital of Goa. The Portugese admiral however very sagaciously refused to comply with his request in spite of offers of lacs of rupees that were made to him, suggesting to him that if he left his army which still followed him, it would join the enemy's rank.

Raghoba wrote then to the Governor of Daman asking him to give him hospitality in that place and also wrote to the Portugese Viceroy in April, 1776 asking the help of troops, ammunition, war material and refuge in Daman, promising in exchange to grant to the Portugese Government the territories of the North and some *Parganus* near Daman.

The chief intermediary in these negotiations between Raghoba and the Portugese was the Director of the Portugese Factory in Surat Jeronimo Ribeiro Neves who on the 1st of April, 1776 wrote to the Governor of Daman Sebastiao de Azavedo e Brito the following letter:

"Yesterday at 9 p.m. there came to me Ramchandra Rao Naraen and Apaji Ramachandra, on behalf of Raghoba who seeing that the English Company made peace with his enemies, breaking the promises it had made he did not want to accept the offer made to him, but would continue the war to the last, for which he seeks anxiously the alliance and help of the State (Portugese Government) and sends envoys to Goa, and what he intends to do now at once is to enter with his army in the Praca of Damaun for which the agents, above mentioned, write to your Excellency the letter included here in, and they assure me that one of them is going to the camp to-day, so that Raghoba may write to your Excellency to-day asking the required permission, regarding which your Excellency shall decide what is convenient and will redound to the glory of the State, and inform me what reply I should give to the agents to whom I have promised utmost urgency and who are anxiously desiring it."

The latter which the agents of Raghoba wrote to the Governor of Damaun 2nd April, 1776, reads thus:

"We Apaji Ramachandra and Ramachandra Naraen send this with our *salams*, keeping good health and expecting you will communicate to us the news of your good health. It is true that among all the nations wearing the hat, the Portugese are the most powerful, their professions just and finally it is well-known that their protection is firm to whom it may be extended. Presently the English have left the cause of the Most Happy Dada Raghunath Rao Pant Pradhan, which fact being informed to him he desires to come to Damaun with his army, expecting you will afford him a welcome and writing to the Viceroy in Goa to send to Damaun from Goa 3,000 men both white and black, 2 thousand guns, 20 pieces of artillery, bombs, gunpowder, bullets and other war material, with which marching from Damaun to Poona to punish the warring relation, you will earnt the glory, the prosperity of the Most Happy as you own, for with this advantage your possession of the jurisdiction of Bassein and other territories which formerly were owned by the Sarcar will be returned to you and besides this he will give you a prise as deserved. By the order of the said Dada, in order to know your reply we communicate this matter to the Director of Surat Mr. Jeronimo, through whose advice this letter is sent and who will also write to you in Damaun and also to Goa to allow the said Dada to remain in Damaun and send from Goa the war material. We expect that reply will come soon to us and also to Dada and to the Director. We hope that pending the reply from Goa you will permit the said Dada and his army to come to Damaun and then obtain permission from Goa. If you perform everything as I have described, you and his Majesty shall be of great utility. Send the reply soon, and let there be no delay and as soon as the reply comes, Dada with his army will come to Damaun within a day."

On the 8th of April, the Director of Portugese factory of Surat received in reply the letter of the Governor of Damaun dated 3rd of April granting the necessary permission to Raghoba on condition that "he shall stop on hills of Parnel near the river, in order that his army may have water and that he shall bring all the food that may be necessary to his army during the time he will reside there." Raghunath Rao agreed to this condition.

"I think however," wrote the Director of the factory in his letter to the Viceroy dated 13th April, 1776, "that he is not positively determined to pass to Damaun but he wants to be certain of this hospitality, to take refuge in case the army of Poona pursues him with superior forces."

In fact, on the 29th April the same Director wrote to the Viceroy: "On the 16th instant Raghunath Rao gave me notice that next day he was raising his camp and was marching to the vicinity of Damaun, in order to avoid meeting the army of Poona which was approaching; that the English chief and the Colonel commanding the expedition, had come on the same day to offer him refuge in the city or in the fort, entering only with two hundred men, but he refused this offer on account of insufficient security he can have in Surat and his want of faith in the English; and remembering that his enemy might harass him in the vicinity of Damaun and reduce to the extreme necessity of taking refuge inside the same Praca, he desired that

the Governor should promise him and some men that accompanied him, security and extend to him all the due courtesys.

On the 18th, he informed me that he would have great satisfaction, if at his arrival the Governor gave him a company of Europeans for his body guard, all of which I communicated to the Governor by letters sent with confidential men of Raghunath Rao who sent a person to inspect the place which would be given to him for encampment and assure himself of the promises of the Governor.

On the 17th arrived two patamars from Bombay, and it was at once known that the English troops which were in Dambose ready to embark, were returning to the city. On the same day, the English chief and the Colonel Commander of the expedition went to the camp of Raghunath Rao who informed me at once that they had come to offer him the same alliance and help as they had done before, promising to bring the English troops to his side, asking to be excused for having abandoned him thoughtlessly, and in token of friendship they asked Raghunath Rao to order the artillery salute; he also says that he has received letters from the Governor and the General Council of Bengal, in which they showed themselves to be dissatisfied with the treaty with which Colonel Upton had made and were desirous of renewing the old alliance. The confidante of Raghunath Rao assured me on his part, that in the uncertainty about the resolution which you would take with regard to his demands, he would be in the necessity of availing himself of the English much against his wish. But as soon as he has the certainty that you will help him, he leaves alone the English at once, about which he has no scruples whatever, as they showed the example first, and this he brings to your notice, being in firm agreement with all that his agents will say. I took advantage of this occasion to persuade him, that the best proof he could give you of his good intentions, was to hand over to me the *sanads* of the territories of the North, which I had a good chance of sending to you by this frigate, but this dealing was not effective, he having sent to me the propositions which he intends making and offers to the State, recommending that I should communicate them to you, which I do separately, and he asks a reply quite urgently to enable him to know what course to choose.

On the 27th Raghunath Rao informed me that the person whom he had sent to Daman to inspect the locality which the Governor had fixed for his encampment, had arrived with his letter and he is satisfied and disposed to follow the instructions of the said Governor, which are to take the fort of Parnel and grant us the villages which formerly belonged to the jurisdiction of Damaun: the said Governor promises him that whenever he may want or necessity may compel him, he will go to receive him and will give him a company of granadiers for his journey. He (Raghunath Rao) thinks he will not be able to take the fort above referred to, without the help of Damaun, not having any doubt to grant it along with the villages stipulated, and he assures me that he will hand over the *sanads* to the Governor when he will come to him on his first visit, he however does not

declare when he is going to start (for Damaun) and it seems to me that he is not going unless he receives a favourable reply from Your Excellency or is compelled by the enemy. Raghunath Rao wishes that I should go to his camp to speak to him and to accompany him to Damaun; but I excused myself to do so, not to excite any suspicion among the English, and even then I am afraid they may have some knowledge of it."

The above referred

Propositions of Raghunath Rao and of his Diwan Sadashiv Ramachandra were the following:

I

Wants 1,000 European soldiers, 2,000 natives and sepoy, 500. . . . and 15 pieces of artillery and 5 mortars, with competent officials, and commanded by chiefs of great ability and experience, bringing with them all kinds of belongings, ammunition of war that is necessary for them. The State will make an account of the pay and all other expenses and will adjust the amount which Raghunath Rao will have to pay every month, which will take effect from the time the expedition starts up to his entry into Poona, for which he shall reserve the income of various districts, and if there be delay in collecting he shall pay in ready money. The said expedition must disembark in Daman or wherever it may be convenient to join the troops of Raghunath Rao and he will immediately give an elephant to carry the standard and another one to the Commander of the Expedition, to whom he will give a donation suitable to his merits and to the other officials, palanquins, horses, carriages etc. according to their rank.

II

In recognition and gratification of this help, he promises to cede for ever to the Portugese nation the rights and dominion over all the lands that were taken by the Mahrattas on the northern coast and if some of them be in the possession of the English Company, he undertakes to give others producing an equal income, selected by both parties, and as soon as the Portugese troops arrive to help him, he will grant the respective *sauads*.

III

The State shall make an offensive and defensive alliance with Raghunath Rao, and the enemy of either shall be considered and treated as common to both parties and if Raghunath Rao need more help from the State for any war with an Asiatic power, it shall be given to him, on payment of all expenses and being victorious he shall grant more territories.

IV

In the Portuguese dominions no refuge should be given to the Mahratta deserters, and the same shall be done by Raghunath Rao with the Portuguese fugitives, at least, till both parties do not consent

V

Should any Portuguese ship be wrecked on the coast of the Mahratta State, every assistance shall be given to save the cargo which should be returned to its real proprietor on payment of reasonable expenses. The same shall be done by the Portuguese with the Mahratta ships which may be wrecked on the Portuguese coast.

VI

In everything that relates with the Government of Raghunath Rao and the Marathas, the Portuguese shall not interfere.

VII

All dealings of the State with Raghunath Rao shall be through his Dewan Sadashiv Ramachandra who shall send his turban to the Captain General, and the latter shall send him his hat in token of a firm and good alliance.

VIII

When the State owned the territories of the North it seems that there were certain concessions to the Desais, and it being so the same should be made over to the Dewan; if not, the concession of a village should be given to the honour of his family and he should be permitted to have in Goa a house and gardens etc.

The Government of Goa gives the following reply to the articles of capitulation of Raghunath Rao and his Dewan Sadashiv Ramachandra:

To I

That the State of his Majesty has at the present time observed neutrality in the wars in Asia, maintaining an alliance with the English Court, whose friendship is established by the most Faithful King of Portugal by many treaties and in the same way with the House of Poona. That at present it shall maintain the same neutrality and alliance, and for this reason cannot render help with the troops that are asked, not having declared offensive war against any of the powers.

That the glory and greatness of the Most Faithful King and of his Majestic State is to help and protect the kings and the potentates of Asia without declaring war against the enemies of the Kings and Potentates referred to, but defend them, protect them and save from the power of their enemies. This is a public fact and well-known to the whole of Asia for the great Nabob having waged war against the Kingdom of Canara, imprisoned his queen and died in prison, and when the kingdom of Sunda was conquered, the King took refuge in our Majestic State, lived there being treated with decency, guarded and with pay and subsidy, which the Most Faithful King ordered to be contributed annually which continued in the same way to be given to the successor and the son of the same king, being treated with all the honours of a king and at the same time the Majestic State maintained an alliance with the Nabob. That in the same way without

any doubt the Governor and Captain General of the State promise to protect the most Happy (Raghoba) approving of what the Governor of Damaun has stipulated and promised to permit that his army may encamp in the territory of Damaun high up in the hill of Parnel near the Ribeira.

That in the Praca of Damaun the Most Happy can come every time he wants, it being allowed to him to enter with only 200 men.

That the Majestic State will order to fortify and guard with more people the said Praca of Damaun, and furnish it with more pieces of artillery and war material for the security and defence of the Most Happy (Raghoba).

That the said Praca being reserved to serve as the refuge of the Most Happy in order to free himself from the hands of his enemies,—an account of the allowance of the military men of the said Praca, and of the value of the war material and ammunition that will be sent new, will be made and according to the list signed by the Governor of that Praca, all dues shall be paid by the Most Happy at the beginning of every month to the Governor, giving notice to this court of the payments made.

To II

That the promise is accepted.

To III

That the reply is given in the first article that if the Most Happy conquers and grants to the Majestic State the territories of the Portuguese which were taken by the House of Poona, the Majestic State will have no doubt in making an offensive and defensive alliance with the Most Happy.

To IV

That the promised returning to the Majestic State the territories of the North in possession of the House of Poona and others equivalent to those owned by the English Company, is approved.

To V

The same reply.

To VI

That it is approved.

To VII

That all dealings shall be made through Sadashiv Ramachandra Dew that the Governor and Captain General of the State will send his hat, but that the turban that will be sent should be of the Most Happy and if it be of the Dewan the Secretary's hat will be sent.

To VIII

That it is approved and is convenient.

Placing his trust on the permission of the Portuguese, Raghoba left Surat on the 10th August and arrived near Damaun on the 25th, as he himself says in his letter dated 3rd September, 1776 written to the Portuguese Governor of Goa.

As the news that Raghoba was near Damaun reached Poona the Portuguese emissary in that Court Naraen Shenvi Dhume wrote on behalf of Poona Court to the governor of Damaun not to give him any help in view of the friendship that existed between the Portuguese and the Court of Poona. It was a protest.

Having gained the vicinity of Damaun, Raghunath Rao Peshwa asked the governor of the Praca the help of 400 men, 2 or 3 pieces of artillery and one mortar, to take the hill of Parnell and there to settle himself, granting in return of this help, which was not given, four *praganas naeres* and two forts, around which lie the 4 Parganas above mentioned and which consisted of 156 villages which Raghoba had in his possession. This is stated in the letter of the Governor of Damaun written to the Viceroy on the 1st of September, 1776. In this letter it is said:

"Raghunath Rao asks me in case he is attacked by any powerful army he desires to be kept in this Praca (of Damaun) with twenty men and in a war ship to go to your presence."

The Portuguese authorities did not give him this help maintaining always an expectant attitude, inducing in this way the court of Poona to grant to the Portuguese some villages in Damaun producing an income of 12 thousand rupees. The negotiations of Raghoba continued during a long time with the object of establishing an alliance with the Portuguese, even to the extent of addressing the Queen of Portugal a letter in November, 1778 which was brought to Goa by an envoy of Raghunath Rao.

The Governor of Goa, D. Jose Pedro de Camara wrote regarding this affair, to Portugal on 22nd of December, 1778: "In the conferences which I have continually had with the said envoy of Raghoba, he sufficiently affirms the mistrust that his Lord has, that the English may dominate him in the same way as the Nawabs of Bengal and of Surat, and not only with the object of avoiding this subjection but also of maintaining himself respected in the possession that he intends to have, he desires earnestly the help of our troops, an alliance with this State and protection from our August Sovereign."

PANDURANGA PISSURLENCAR,

*Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences. Instituto
Vasco da Gama of Nova Goa, Société
Asiatique of Paris, etc.*

Some Information Relating to the Last Days of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, Imad-ul-Mulk.

(Based on Unpublished State Records)

THOSE who have read the history of the Later Mughals are familiar with the name of Imad-ul-mulk, Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang, III. He was the eldest son of Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firuz Jang II, the eldest son of Mir Qamr-ud-din, the first Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah and the subahdar of the Deccan. At an early age he was created the *Bakhshi* of Emperor Ahmad Shah. Afterwards, he became remarkable for his ability, and infamous also for his crimes. It was he who murdered the Emperor Ahmad Shah and deprived his successor Alamgir II (the father of the Emperor Shah Alam II) of his sight. Ghazi-ud-din realized—rightly or wrongly—that the safety of the Mughal empire rested in an alliance with the Marathas whom he had invited to Hindustan. Before the first action between the Abdali and the Marathas took place (Jany. 1760), Ghazi-ud-din had been obliged to leave Delhi for Bharatpur, where he sought shelter with the Jat Rajah Suraj Mal and became his pensioner. He next fled to Farrukhabad, disgusted, as he was, with the conduct of the then Jat Rajah Jawahir Singh, and he also stood against the latter's successor in power, Nawal Singh, in a formidable coalition with the Marathas. In fact, Ghazi-ud-din wandered from one Power to another as he could find security (1).

But very little is known of the closing days of this once famous minister. In this paper I shall deal with certain State-papers, preserved among the Secret Department Records in the Imperial Record Office, Calcutta, which fill this gap in our knowledge to a certain extent.

In 1779 Ghazi-ud-din Khan was discovered near Surat in the disguise of a *faqir*. The following letter which Mr. Boddam, the Chief of Surat, addressed to the Select Committee at Bombay, gives full particulars of the affair:

“ The Nawab sent to acquaint me the other day that he had a report made by some of his people that the famous Ghazi or Ghazi-ud-din Khan, so particularly mentioned in the 2nd Vol. of Dow's *Hindustan History* commencing page 350, who is the reputed murderer of Ahmad Shah and Alamgir Sani Mughal Emperors, the

(1) *Mutaqherin; Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vols. I-IV; “ Mir Shihab-ud-din ” by R. D. Banerji in the *Muslim Review* (April-June, 1928, pp. 21-31); Qanungo's *Hist. of the Jats*; Sardesai's *Marathi Riyasat*.

latter the father of the present Mughal, was disguised in the habit of a *faqir* and lived at one of the Borah's mosques, having been brought by them from Eugene [Ujjain], in order as it was said to proceed on to Hadj; that he the Nawab intended if I had no objection to send some of his people with a proper guard to secure and examine, if it was the person really given out. I returned for answer it was very well, but desired he would acquaint me with the result. Some time after the Nawab sent his man to advise me he had secured the person of the *faqir* who acknowledged himself to be the person Ghazi-ud-din Khan, that he had a wife and two sons with him, one about 16 years the other about 8 or 9 years of age with eight or ten attendants, the place he then was in, an old mosque, he the Nawab did not think in any degree proper or secure and therefore intended to send him to one of his own gardens Muhammada-bagh within the town walls. I returned for answer I thought he acted very properly, but at the same time desired he would neither write to Delhi or Haidarabad respecting Ghazi-ud-din Khan being under his care in this city, until I should advise the Hon'ble the President and Select Committee at Bombay respecting the arrival of this extraordinary person and receive their answer. The Nawab desired I would at the same time forward a letter from him to the President which now goes enclosed.

This person, Ghazi-ud-din Khar, is the son of Ghazi-ud-din eldest son of the famous Nizam-ul-mulk, formerly Subah of the Deccan, and when only fifteen years of age was made Bakhshi to the Emperor Ahmad Shah in the year 1751, a man of great capacity and most extraordinary genius, since so remarkable for his crimes and the murder of the two Mughal Emperors. He fled from Delhi in the year 1761 to the Jats, and has ever since been wandering from one Power to another as he could find security. His late residence for some years it seems has been at Eugene, as a Borah *faqir*, and was by their Grand Mulla sent to this place, with the idea of getting over to Hadj, but unluckily for him was discovered by some people here who had formerly served under him at Delhi. As very great rewards have been offered for this person, both by the present Mughal (Alamgir Sani's son) as well as the present Subah of the Deccan, to whose subahship from his birth he has such just pretensions, our Nawab here is very anxious how to act, in case, when his residence in this city becomes public, which cannot now be long concealed from Delhi or Haidarabad, demands should be sent from both places for the delivery of the person of Ghazi-ud-din Khan. I am to request your full and particular instructions as soon as possible what part I am to act in this business, for as he, Ghazi-ud-din, is a person that has played so great a part in the transactions of Indostan for some years, his

near connections with the greatest families and Umara of India (whether or not he might be of great use and service to the Supreme Council in their political transactions with the Court of Delhi as well as with the Nizam), are circumstances I beg to refer to your judgment and consideration. Ghazi-ud-din Khan will be strictly guarded at Muhammada-bagh under the Nawab's protection and security until I am favoured with your directions how I am to act." (6 Feby. 1779) (2).

The Select Committee at Bombay, in forwarding the above letter, reported to the Governor-General Warren Hastings as follows:—

"Upon receipt of this intelligence we were of opinion that as so distinguished a person had been thus thrown within our power, it was our duty to detain him until we could receive instructions from you regarding him; and as we did not think he would be entirely safe at Surat, and his continuance there might bring the Nawab into difficulties and occasion inconveniences to the city as well as to the Hon'ble Company's affairs, we have determined to remove him to Bombay which will be a more eligible place for his residence until we can receive your orders, which we therefore request to be favoured with as expeditiously as possible.

"The Vizier has since expressed an inclination of being removed to Bombay, at which the Nawab has likewise expressed his satisfaction and we now expect his arrival in a few days." (21 February, 1779) (3).

On 5th April the Board at Calcutta issued the following instructions to the Select Committee at Bombay:—

"We have received your letter of the 21st February.

"We wish that you had not apprehended the person of Ghazi-ud-din Khan, as it has the appearance of, at least, an act of violence to him, which no pretext can justify, and which may furnish occasion for jealousies, that at this time you should be particularly careful to avoid. We must therefore earnestly recommend to you, instantly to grant him liberty, peremptorily insisting that he do immediately quit the English territories, and if you have an opportunity, we further recommend that you forward him on his way to Mecca" (4).

It will be seen from the extracts quoted below that Col. Goddard had met Ghazi-ud-din in the Bengal Provinces, and that he was sent back to Surat in one of the Company's vessels, so that he might take a passage thence to Mecca:—

"Whilst the Vizier remained at Surat we received a letter from him containing very splendid accounts of the powerful assistance he had intended bringing to Raghuba's cause by his connection with

(2) *Secret Proceedings*, 5th April, 1779, pp. 540-43.

(3) *Secret Consultation*, 5th April, 1779, No. 1.

(4) *Ibid.*, No. 5.

different Rajahs and the most profuse expressions of regard to the English. In the conclusion he acquainted us his intentions were to go to Mecca, but having no necessities for that expedition, he desired we would conduct him thither.

"On making enquiry from Col. Goddard respecting this person, we learnt he had some time ago been in the Bengal Provinces, and that the Government had not thought it material to detain him; therefore, as he was very earnest to be permitted to proceed on his pilgrimage, and his residence here would be attended with considerable expense, we did not judge from Col. Goddard's information that it would answer any adequate purpose to detain him here contrary to his consent, and we reflected likewise that if the Governor-General and Council chose to have him sent round to Bengal, he would probably return from Mecca sufficiently early for that voyage the following season. We therefore sent him up again to Surat in one of your cruisers to take passage from thence in a country ship bound to Jedda which we hope will be approved" (5).

But Ghazi-ud-din had to postpone the voyage to Hadj for reasons stated in the following letter:—

"Our despatch of the 4th April will have acquainted you of our having given permission to Ghazi-ud-din Khan to proceed to Surat, in order to take passage for Mecca; but we understand that, owing to some differences between him and Chellaby, the owner of the ship bound for that port, he did not prosecute his pilgrimage, but still remains at Surat. We beg leave to observe that his removal to Bombay was perfectly satisfactory to him, and that upon his expressing a desire to return to Surat he was immediately accommodated with one of the Hon'ble Company's vessels." (7th June 1779) (6).

The Governor-General received on 14th September 1779 a lengthy letter from Ghazi-ud-din Khan in which he styles himself as "Vizier-ul-mamalik, Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-mulk, Bahadur Sipah-salar," gives the reason of his stay at Surat in disguise, and finally begs the protection of the English. We give a summary of this letter below:—

"The writer has received his [Governor-General's] letter. Says that when the English army crossed the river at Kalpi he, out of a desire for friendship, wrote to the English officers. Visaji, the Chief of Saugor, coming to know of this affair, became hostile to the writer. So he left Saugor and went towards Ujjain with a view to joining the English army, and wrote letters to this purport to Col. Goddard. But he could not accomplish this design as the

(5) Bombay to the Court of Directors, dated 27th March, 1779.—*Secret Con.* 3rd May, 1779, No. 7.

(6) Bombay to Governor-General Warren Hastings. *Secret Consultation*, 8th July, 1779, No. 4.

Marathas commanded the roads. He then resolved to go to Bombay, have a meeting with the Colonel, and help in settling the affairs of Raghunath Rao. He went to Surat in disguise, where he was delayed two weeks owing to the indisposition of his son, Dilir Jang. But in the meantime intelligence was received that the Rao was defeated and Col. Goddard, with whom he had contracted a friendship by letters, was yet at Hoshangabad. He did not think it right to wait upon Mr. Hornby, the Governor of Bombay, with whom he had no acquaintance, or to make known his situation to Mr. Boddam or any of the chief men at Surat, but awaited the arrival of Col. Goddard.

“ Meanwhile Hafiz-ud-din Ahmad, the *Mutasaddi* of Surat, discovered the identity of the writer and, suspecting him of some evil design, sent some people at the close of night to apprehend him. He defied them to do their worst, saying ‘ I am a Sayyid. My ancestor, the Imam Husain, was likewise dishonoured by a villain called Yazid. But the English are my friends and Aman-ud-daula [Hastings] is my protector. You will be called to account for your behaviour when Col. Goddard arrives.’ Hearing this they refrained from molesting him but maintained a strict watch over his movements.

“ At last Col. Goddard arrived. The writer went to see him and was received in a most friendly manner. He then sailed for Bombay in a ship sent by Mr. Hornby and paid a visit to the Governor, who, being bribed, is abjectly subservient to the *Mutasaddi* of Surat and suffers all the high-handedness exercised by the latter to go unchecked, and therefore did not accord the treatment that was due to the writer. From the afflictions that had come upon him, he was desirous of going to Mecca, but he has not yet got the necessary things.

“ Has sent to the Governor-General two letters through Col. Goddard concerning his own affairs. Will stay with the Colonel till a reply is received. It must not however be understood that he is hanging on the Colonel on account of his inability to support himself, for it is a common knowledge that he possesses houses and gardens in Saugor and can live comfortably on the income thereof. But it is not consistent that he, who formerly was in an exalted state, should support himself by such means. His request is that, through your means, he may gain the protection of the Company and perform such services for King George III of England, that the whole of Hindustan and the Deccan may be reduced to subjection to you. His plan is this. The King of Hindustan will be prevailed upon to give away the whole of Bengal to the King of England. An English army will be stationed with the King at Delhi, as in the case of Asaf-ud-daula. The affairs of the Rajahs of Hindustan, who are dependent on the Marathas, will be

settled by the English chiefs, and Najaf Khan, an evil-disposed person, will be exiled and his territory bestowed on some one attached to the English. This may all be done without war or even murmurings. In the next year the writer would march into the Deccan under the King's order, and all the chiefs, as many as are at Haidarabad or Puna together with their armies, he would firmly attach to himself and the expenses of the army—which is at Surat—would be defrayed from this part of the country, excluding the Maratha territories. Besides this, if the restoration of Raghunath Rao in Puna and the conquest of Gujrat is intended, by the blessing of God, the writer is able to set at variance the Chiefs of the armies, and to bring the business to success by the assistance of the zamindars, who all have a good understanding with him. Will pay Rs. 15 lakhs to the Company in one instalment and thenceforth at the rate of one lakh annually, if you will reduce the power of the Mutasaddi of Surat, rescue the inhabitants from his tyranny, settle his property on the writer's son, and deliver that tyrant up to him. Requests that the pargana of Hajipur, which was for a long time the jagir of the writer, may now be given to his son on the usual conditions. Will go on a pilgrimage to Mecca as soon as these affairs are settled.

P.S.—Has taken refuge with the English in the hope of being raised to honour. Prays to God that either his hopes may be fulfilled or he may be removed from the world altogether. The threshold of the English is his last hope. Has received invitations from the King, the Vizier and Nawab Nizam Ali, but preferring the English connection he has refused their offers. His only wish now is to be taken under the protection and patronage of His Majesty King George III of England" (7).

I have not yet been able to unearth from the public records here any further particulars relating to this ex-minister. The author of the *Siyar-ul-Mutaqherin* says (iii. 116):—

"The man now reduced to straits, as well as unable to find throughout all the cities of Hindustan, or even in all those of Deccan, a single spot, whereon he might tread in safety, repaired to Surat, under pretence of a pilgrimage to the glorious Mecca; and he kept himself concealed for a length of time, nor was he discovered but by some jewels of value which he got out for sale. Col. Goddard was obliged to write to the Governor and Council to know their pleasure with respect to this man; and he was at first forbidden to have any connections with him; but in the sequel, they concluded that an intriguing man is always a shrewd man; and that being acquainted with all the chief men of Deccan, as well as allied to the family of Nizam-ul-mulk, he

might be of great use. Accordingly, they ordered the Colonel to have connections with him, in hopes that at some future emergencies, his abilities and knowledge might answer some purpose in their cause. The General upon this letter, admitted him to his friendship, and gave him a pension for his subsistence " (8).

BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJI

(8) Vol. 143 of the Home Miscellaneous Series of the India Office Records contains certain documents regarding the discovery of Ghazi-ud-din at Surat "*with relevant papers*, pp. 451-98 " which are likely to throw further light on the closing days of the ex-Vizier.

Early Public Life in India.

PUBLIC life in the western sense is a plant necessarily of modern growth. in the article of Sir Thomas Tarton in the previous numbers of *Bengal: Past & Present*, we have seen how Sir Thomas was one of the few prominent Europeans who took part in the growth and promotion of Indian Public Life; whether it touched the Indians or the Europeans. The start have been given sometime before Sir Thomas and the fulcrum was provided by Mr. George Thompson who accompanied Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore in 1842. Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore was a great admirer of Raja Rammohan Roy and his worthy son better known as Mohorshi Debendra Nath Tagore was a lineal spiritual descendant of Raja Rammohan Roy. The start given by Raja Rammohan Roy to the development of political instinct of the Indian Public by his manifold activities was taken up by Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore. He studied questions at close quarters during his stay in England, was well received in society, made acquaintance of the powerful political intellects of the day. The activities of the Anti-Corn League were at their highest about this time in England and Mr. George Thompson a prominent member of the Parliament was one of the most powerful exponents of such activities.

He edited a monthly journal called "The British Advocates," in India, he worked with the Bengal Landholders' Society, regarding what he called Hill Cooly system of Slavery, the oppressive land-tax, opium, and salt monopolies. He was a leading member of the British India Society of London and lectured on Indian topics in England with a view to advance the claim of Indian people for better Government, and he formed a branch of this Society in Calcutta. In India, he took up the cause of Ex-Raja of Satara, and was appointed Ambassador of the Emperor of Delhi. He visited India again in 1855 and left it in 1857, when the sepoy war broke out. He was a member of the National Parliamentary Association and was M. P. for the Toulser Hamlets from 1847-52. He died in October 1878, at the age of 74. He had the reputation of being a speaker and brilliant conversationalist.

Prince Dwarka Nath Tagore who was truly princely in his dealings succeeded in inducing Mr. George Thompson to come out with him to India and lost no time in vigorously identifying himself with such public life amongst Indians as had begun to manifest itself as the visible result of the spread of Western Education amongst themselves by their own efforts. These activities were necessarily limited and scattered and often sporadic. A few had come together under the name of the "Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge" in the Hindoo College. "They had no local habitation of their own and met from time to time wherever they could get hospitable accommodation."

(1) B. P. and P. Vol. XXXVI, pt. ii and Vol. XXXVII, pt. i, "Acts of Pains and Penalties in the Past."

In 1838, the society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge was founded by Babu Ramgopal Ghose with his friends Babus, Tarini Charan Banerjee, Ramtonoo Lahari, Tarachand Chuckerbutty and Rajanikanta Dey. The invitation began with the words:—"Countrymen, Though humiliating be the confession, yet we cannot for a moment deny the truth of the remark so often made by many able and intelligent Europeans, who are by no means inimical to the cause of the native improvement, that in no one department of learning are our acquirements otherwise than extremely superficial. We need only examine ourselves in order to be convinced of the justice of the remark after the groundwork of our mental improvement has been laid in the schools, (and school tuition seldom does more). We enter the world and never think of building a solid superstructure. The fate of our Debating Association, most of which are now extinct, while not one is in flourishing condition as well as the puerile character of the native productions are lamentable proofs of this dead neglect. If a tree is to be known by its fruits, where, with but one or two solitary exceptions, are the fruits to which we can point with pride and satisfaction, as manifesting any degree of intellectual energy or extent of learning? We have ever sincerely regretted the want of an institution which should be the means of promoting frequent mutual intercourse among the educated Hindoos and of exciting an emulation for mental excellence. There is at present no occasion whereby we are ever called upon to congregate on an extensive scale for the purpose of mutual improvement, and whence we may receive impetus for applying ourselves to useful studies. Is it then not desirable to unite in such a laudable pursuit by which the bond of fellowship may be strengthened, the acquisition of knowledge promoted, and the sphere of our usefulness extended?"

A meeting of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge was organised by Babu Ramgopal Ghose himself a great orator and a powerful organizer at the Hindoo College on 11th January, 1843, and Mr. George Thompson was its chief speaker. Mr. George Thompson who was a warm friend of India and as a member of the Anti-Corn League he sought co-operation on behalf of India. His interest in India had greatly increased when in 1838 many lives were lost on account of the distressing famine in Upper India.

The meeting was held under the presidency of Babu Tara Chand Chuckerbutty. After the ordinary business of the meeting was over, Mr. George Thompson responded to the call of the Chair and delivered the following address:—

Mr. President, Members of the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge, and if you allow me to say so, Dear Friends, on rising to address you at the request of the chairman, I scarcely know how to discharge my duty, so many, so new and so strong, are the emotion which struggle for utterance. For some years I have felt a deep and constantly growing interest in the condition, the prospect and destinies of the people of India. I have read of India, and I have dreamed of India. I have written respect-

ing India, and I have spoken on behalf of India. But in dreaming or talking or writing I have always had one wish present in my mind that I might see the country for myself, might mingle with its people as I do now and through the knowledge acquired by travelling and observations, be able to be of more service to the cause of my fellow subjects here. At length I am permitted through the Divine Providence, to stand upon your soil and this evening I find myself in the midst of some of the most educated and enlightened of the natives of the country. So great do I esteem this privilege to be, that I can hardly believe that I am not even now enjoying a delightful dream rather than upon a real scene. Allow me to say, it is no feeling of mere curiosity that had prompted my visit to your shores; still less a desire to advance my personal and worldly interests. My duties and engagements at home were of too important a nature to suffer me to abandon them even for a short time, from my consideration, less than a conviction that my future usefulness might be promoted by a knowledge of actual state of things around you. I come out therefore not to gaze upon the splendour of your rivers, the sublimity of your mountain scenery or the grandeur of your scattered monuments of former greatness. All these are objects of interest and as they come in my way I shall contemplate them with no ordinary regard. I come, however, to study the living populations and all other subjects only in connection with the present and future well-beings of those who were created to possess and enjoy the riches and splendour of this glorious region. I, as you know, come from a country which is the seat of government under which you live, the fountain head of that authority which is exercised over you, the great theatre for the discussion of all questions relating to the fundamental principles of the British rule in India. I have long been anxious that the people of England should feel their responsibility to God for the manner in which this empire is governed. No amount of wisdom, benevolence, or justice in the delegated rules of India can in my opinion, absolve the great body of people from this responsibility. In consequence of their past ignorance, they have been quite incompetent to form a just opinion still more to suggest remedies for existing evils. If enlightened, informed, and interested in regard to Indian matters, they would be able to commend, encourage, and support that which is just and beneficial; and at the same time to check abuses, to make salutary changes and to lay down broad and generous principles for the future administration of the Government. It is of vital importance to you and to your country that the apathy, indifference, and ignorance of the people of England should be removed. They make the Parliament that framed the charter under which you live. They are the final tribunal to which you must appeal, from the East India Company, which is but the constituted medium through which India is governed in the name of the Crown and the people of England. They are bound, therefore, to see that the power wielded on their behalf is equitably and beneficently exercised; and this they cannot do while they are destitute of correct knowledge. I may be permitted to say that I have spared no pains to obtain the information that

was within my reach in England, and you know, that I made it my business to communicate what I conceive to be sound and accurate to my countrymen at large. I have ever found the mass of the people at home, willing to be taught and ready to act. I have also found them anxious that the government of the country should be a just and benevolent one. They are willing to act, when they shall be rightly instructed in their duty. They have no interest in the perpetuation of any of the social or political evils of this country. On the contrary they are by degrees coming to the opinion that these evils deprive both the people here and the people at home, of many great and estimable advantages. I can assure you, that I am followed to these shores by sympathies and best wishes of thousands, who cherish a deep concern for your welfare. Judge then how delighted I must be to have so early an opportunity of addressing so large a number of native community of this city and to find myself in the midst of a society for the acquisition of general knowledge. I have gone through the printed transactions of this Society with much pleasure. They reminded me of the days long past when I belonged to similar societies in England; and let me say for your encouragement, that if, I have since, in any measure been able to advance the cause of my oppressed fellow men, I attribute my ability to do so, in no small degree to the benefits I derived from my connection with these institutions. I heard with regret that your society has for sometime been in a languishing condition. Allow me to suggest as a remedy for this state of things that you can endeavour as far as practicable to select topics which are of an interesting nature, the elucidation and discussion of which will be highly beneficial to you in the various spheres you are called to fill. You will then be blending utility with instruction and making your knowledge subservient to the purposes for which you live. These societies are greatly useful in making us aware of our own ignorance, in including us to resort to the fountains of knowledge open to us and in enabling us to cultivate the art of communicating to others, what we have ourselves acquired. The object which brings me to the country is nearly allied to your own; in fact it is one and the same,—the Acquisition of Knowledge. I have heard of you and of your country by the hearing of the ear, and I think I know something of your condition, peculiarities and wants, from the study of the best informed writers, but this is not enough for one who sought to give an accurate representation of the real state of things. I have therefore come hither to see and judge for myself; and as long as I remain shall esteem it a duty and privilege to cultivate the acquaintance of the native population, that I may understand their views and feelings. The only reward I seek for any effort in your cause is to see you qualifying yourselves to be hereafter the enlightened vindicators of the claims of your countrymen to sympathy and support of all the covers of moral, and the political justice in England."

It need be hardly stated that the address was exceedingly well received both in and outside the Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge

and the arena of work of the Society gradually became more political in character. It fell to the lot of the Society to take preliminary steps for the formation of the Bengal British India Society at Calcutta, largely on the lines of the British India Society which Mr. G. Thompson had established in England.

Before Mr. Thompson came here, the Landholders Association was established in April, 1838, and was the only organised body in India to discuss political topics. Mr. Wm. Cobb Hurry, the then Editor of the *Englishman*, and Babu Prosonno Coomar Tagore were its joint honorary secretaries, but Dwarka Nath Tagore, near whose house the office of the Association was situated was the life and soul of the institution. The Landholders' Association, although it was the most useful body and did good in its own time, represented only one class of the community—the aristocracy of Bengal. It advocated the rights of the zemindars.

The British Indian Society thus afforded the necessary supplements from the people's point of view for the time.

DEVAPRASAD SARVADHICARI.

The Cornwallis-Malet Correspondence, 1788-89.

(A sheaf gleaned from the historical field of the Imperial Record Dept.)

“THESE old records are like cauldrons at Camachos’ wedding; one has only to plunge in a ladle at random to scoop out something valuable or curious.” Thus spoke Sir Henry Yule regarding the valuable old records which are preserved in the archives of the Imperial Record Department, from which even to-day the scholars of Indian history can draw new and fresh historical inspiration. The truth of the above statement of Sir Henry Yule fully became manifest to me when in the course of casual examination of some of the Home Department documents, I came across the correspondence mentioned in the caption which throws a considerable fresh flood of light on the history of the Mahrattas and the Mughals of the 18th century. This correspondence (1) consists of several letters which passed between Sir Charles Warre Malet, Resident Minister at the Court of Poona and the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, during the years 1788-89, “to form a judgment how far the commercial intercourse then existing between the British and Mahratta Governments may admit of an increase advantageous to both sides” and also “to find out means how to carry out successfully the project in question.” Several of these interesting unpublished documents, however, have already been dealt with by Mr. A. F. M. Abdul Ali, F.R.S.L., M.A., etc., Keeper of the Imperial Records and Secretary to the Indian Historical Records Commission in his article entitled “Commercial and Social intercourse between the East India Company and the Poona Court” which appeared in the last January-March number of *Bengal: Past & Present*. But as I find that among the aforesaid correspondence there are at least two important papers which deal with the court etiquettes of the Mahratta and Mughal Durbars of the 18th century, that have not been noticed in the above article, it is hoped that their reproductions will not fail to interest the students of Indian history. These papers are the letters which Malet wrote to Lord Cornwallis on the 13th and 26th July, 1789, from Poona, describing the oriental royal courtesy and grandeur with which the then Peshwa, Madhu Rao Narayan, received the Mughal Prince, Mirza Jooma, son of the late Mirza Jehandar Shah, in his dominion in that month and the way in which the latter reciprocated the former’s civility and hospitality. These letters, however, do not say why the Mughal Prince in question (Prince Jooma) paid that visit to the Peshwa. The letters run thus:-

(1) Pub. O. C.s 22 April 1789, nos. 25-29 (with enclosures).

FIRST LETTER (2).

"To the Right Hon'ble

Charles Earl Cornwallis, K.G.,

Governor-General, Fort William.

My Lord,

On the 9th July, 1789, the Peshwa with his whole court proceeded in the evening to Hurrupser, a village about 5 miles from Poona, to receive Mirza Jooma, son of the late Mirza Jehandar Shah, who arrived there, in the morning under conduct of a chieftain from hence, who had been sent on the 4th instant to bring him from Wurlee, his former encampment, about 12 miles from Hurrupser. The etiquette of this visit was as follows. The Peshwa attended by the Regent Minister (Nana Farnavis), all the civil and military officers and all the troops in Poona, proceeded (the Peshwa's minister, etc., on elephants) to within about a mile of the Prince's tent, where a small canopy was pitched, at which the Peshwa on alighting was received by Akbar Ali Khan, the Prince's maternal grand-uncle and Makshud Beg, his Dewan, who had come there from that purpose, and to each of whom, the Peshwa being introduced by the Chief that had been sent to conduct the Prince from Wurlee and to remain with him as his entertainer, presented a Kullat (Khilat) consisting of cloths and a *sirpeich* (a valuable ornament worn in front of a turban). After this preliminary ceremony, Akbar Ali Khan and his comrade returned to the Prince and were followed by the Peshwa, and his officers in palanquins. At about the distance of forty paces from the tent walls, the Peshwa alighted and immediately on entering them made three *tasims* or low obeisances to the Prince who was seated and remained so on *musnud* in his tent, on approaching which he (the Peshwa) presented a *nazzar* of 15 gold mohurs; after which being directed by the Prince to seat himself, he repeated his obeisances and obeyed. After the ceremony of presenting the offerings by all the chiefs that attended the Peshwa, he entreated the Prince's permission that the Minister might be seated, which being granted, the Minister in like manner procured the same favour for Pooranduree, another Chieftain of eminence, and these were the only ones to whom this honour was granted. The visit was closed by the Prince presenting the Peshwa with Khilat, consisting of seven pieces of cloths and bound turband (sic), a *jeegha* (a valuable ornament worn on the turban), a *sirpeich*, a tiara of pearls, an elephant, a horse, a sword and a buckler; for the sword, according to the royal custom, the Peshwa paid seven gold mohurs and the honour he had received was announced by a (sic) numerous discharges of cannons. To

(2) Pub. O. C. 28 August 1789, No. 1; this letter also describes how joyfully the news of King George III's recovery from a serious illness was received at the Poona Court. We learn from other papers that the illness of the King was first made known on the 12th October, 1788 and that the King on his recovery went to St. Paul's to render thanks to the Almighty God on the 23rd April, 1789.

the Minister, six pieces of cloth and a bound turband (six) with a horse. To Hari Punt (a famous Mahratta General) the same, except one piece of cloth less. These were the only persons that were honoured with marks of the Prince's favour. After which, the Peshwa, making the same obeisances as on his entrance retired and returned to the town. 25,000 rupees, I am informed, have been sent for the Prince since his arrival, as *mehmani* or entertainment money."

"The Prince still continues in his tent at Hurrupser. His attendants and followers do not exceed 200 men and his whole equipage exhibits the appearance of much distress. It is generally reported that a provision will be made by Government for him, but of which I have not at present any authentic information.

(Sd.) C. W. MALET."

"P. S.—

I have just received intelligence that the Prince Mirza Jooma is to reside at Gardone about 25 coss hence, where a house is provided for him."

SECOND LETTER (3).

To The Right Hon'ble

Charles Earl Cornwallis, K.G.,

Governor-General, Fort William.

My Lord,

On the 13th instant I had the honour to give your Lordship an account of the reception of the Prince Mirza Jooma by the Poona Court. On the 21st instant the Peshwa again waited on him to take leave on the Prince's departure to Gardone, on which occasion all the previous marks of respect, viz., of stopping the drums and other music of the cavalcade, and alighting at a distance from the tent walls, being as punctiliously observed as to the King himself, the Peshwa approached the presence with the same observances as at the former interview; when, after a short interval, the Prince presented the Peshwa with an elephant, and the Peshwa, on taking leave, made him an offering of two elephants, two horses, eleven trays of cloths and two trays of jewellery. The Minister and Hari Punt (a famous Mahratta General), whose journey to Sidde Teyk (sic) seems to be dropped, remaining a few minutes after the Peshwa's departure, the Prince presented the former with a sword and the *sirpeich* that was on his own turban. The severe rains have hitherto prevented the Prince's moving since the ceremony, but I hear he will certainly march to-day or to-morrow to the place appointed for his residence (Gardone).

I have the honour to be, etc.,

(Sd.) C. W. MALET."

BASANTA KUMAR BASU,

Imperial Record Department, Calcutta.



THE REV. KRISHNA MOHAN BANERJI, C.I.E.
1813-1885.

The Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjea,
D.L., C.F.C.,

BRAHMIN, CHRISTIAN, SCHOLAR AND PATRIOT.
(1813-1885.)

PALMAM QUI MERUIT FERAT.

ONE of the most interesting and least studied phases in the development of relations between the English and Indian communities in Bengal was the spontaneous movement towards Christianity of some intellectual Bengalees about a century ago. The British authorities had always set their faces against proselytism. On the other hand the missionaries of the Church of Rome, working from the beginning of the sixteenth century, had no other object in life than to convert some section of Indians of both creeds promiscuously to the doctrines of the Parent Church of Christianity, and in Southern India at least they attained no small measure of success. But the East India Company in its early days gave no encouragement to Protestant agents and regarded missionaries as a body with disfavour. Still outside of official circles representatives of all the Protestant denominations were ready with open arms to welcome newcomers and, once gained, used every effort to retain them in the fold. But the movement towards Protestant Christianity being largely spontaneous owed little to aggressive evangelisation. We shall not be far wrong if we associate it with the parallel adoption of English as the vehicle for higher education and public examinations, which adoption was the chief feature of that era of which Lord William Bentinck, Lord Macaulay and the Rajah Ram-mohun Roy were the leading luminaries. All the same it is noteworthy that seekers after the new light presented themselves largely of their own accord for admission to the fold of a faith which cannot but have appeared strange and even incomprehensible to the majority of them. Nor was the position made clearer or more attractive by the rivalries of the several Churches, Chapels and Societies, some at least of which claimed to be the sole depositaries of Christian truth, and the chief exponents of its ethics and worship. Great must have been the perception of those who could discern the truth behind these varied fronts.

Among these Dr. Krishna Mohan Banerjea, the subject of this monograph, is entitled to the first place. It is a matter for regret that no record worthy of his noble character and distinguished career has been preserved, and that original materials for such are completely lacking. Consequently few Indians of the present day can know of his great qualities as a scholar and a patriot as well as a man of faith. During his life he was rightly

called "the prince of Indian converts." As a scholar his learning commanded the respect and admiration of the most intellectual of his contemporaries. No other Indian of his day had mastered so many Oriental and Occidental languages. It is not surprising then to learn that he was considered one of the finest products of Western culture grafted on the culture of his own country. As a minister of the Church of Christ in Bengal, and as a citizen upon whom devolved many public duties, Dr. Banerjea filled a foremost place in the eyes of his compatriots, without distinction of caste or creed. He was esteemed and loved not only by his own community, but by Hindus and Mohammedans alike. Perhaps of no other Indian convert to Christianity could as much be truly said. The above remarks are sufficient to justify this attempt to revive his memory and restore his fame. Posterity should not be allowed to forget the example and work of one so eminent, whose character and learning placed him among the most illustrious of his time.

The writer's object is to compile from materials obtained only by diligent research and considerable expenditure of time a memoir of this Indian worthy. This, to deliver his countrymen from the opprobrium of allowing his name and fame to pass into oblivion. All of Dr. Banerjea's European and Indian contemporaries must now be dead. The task, therefore, of producing a full account of his varied career with the aid of their reminiscences is now impossible. The only way to accomplish it would be by exhaustive search among printed records, together with whatever aid may be available from other sources. If some fortunate inquirer should discover papers of a more intimate character than the present writer has found, we may then hope for a full biography. In the meantime this modest monograph must fill the gap.

To the negligence of their own families and perhaps also the apathy of scholars is due to the fact that we have been deprived of valuable personal papers and family records. These would undoubtedly have thrown light on the lives of many prominent men of Bengal. It may not be too late even now to initiate a scheme for collecting materials bearing on the lives of Indian worthies with the object of compiling a Dictionary of National Biography. This is a task that should appeal to the rising generation of our scholars. The collection of materials in the cases of such eminent persons as the late Sir Rashbehari Ghose and the late Lord Sinha, two of our greatest representatives in the generation now passing away, should not be deferred until all their contemporaries have gone. Present neglect in discharging this duty must result in depriving posterity of a full knowledge of those benefactors who were largely instrumental in raising the social and educational standards of their fellow-countrymen, either by personal efforts or princely benefactions.

EARLY LIFE AND CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY.

Krishna Mohan Banerjea was born in Calcutta on May 24, 1813, in the house of his maternal grandfather. He was the second son of Babu



HENRY LOUIS VIVIAN DEROZIO,
1809-1831.

[Reproduced from "Poems of H. L. V. Derozio"
by kind permission of Mr. F. B. Bradley-Birt.]

Jibon Krishna Banerjea, a member of the younger branch of a *koolin* Brahmin family, whose ancestral home was originally at Dakhineswar. Krishna Mohan's eldest brother was Bhuban Mohan, next to him came a sister, and his younger brother was Kali Mohan. His parents had settled in Calcutta in the locality now known as 11, Goorooproasad Chowdhury's Lane. During childhood he had to suffer much hardship owing to family poverty. He received the rudimentary parts of his vernacular education at the Arpooly *patashala* founded by David Hare, and situated near his home. In 1822 Krishna Mohan joined the School Society's School, afterwards known as the "Hare School," and after two years was admitted into the Hindu College, where he showed great promise, in the study of Sanskrit and English. Young Banerjea lost his father in 1828, but fortunately through the influence of Mr. Hare received a monthly scholarship. This enabled him to complete his course. While yet at the Hindu College, he and another friend were severely punished by Professor H. H. Wilson for assaulting a College servant who had been guilty of disobedience. About this time he married Bindubashini, the daughter of Babu Radha Raman Chatterjee of Howrah, being then aged sixteen, and his bride only nine years.

Krishna Mohan was still at College when Henry Vivian Derozio, the great Eurasian teacher and poet, received his appointment, and soon came under his influence. Derozio's teaching and inspiration created a number of enthusiastic reformers amongst his students, and not the least notable was Krishna Mohan Banerjea. Derozio was a young man with extraordinary gifts of mental power and charm. These soon attracted the best students of the College, with whom he discussed all kinds of subjects, social, moral, religious and literary. His students were so fond of him that they used to visit privately at his house in Lower Circular Road. At Derozio's suggestion the students formed an Academic Association in which Krishna Mohan took an active part. Many of his fellow students did the same, among them being Russik Krishna Mullick, Dakhina Ranjan Mookerjee, Ram Gopal Ghose, Hara Chandra Ghose, Radhanath Sikdar, Madhab Chandra Mullick and Mohes Chandra Ghose. The Association met frequently and was also attended by the most distinguished Englishmen of the day like Sir Edward Ryan, Mr. W. W. Bird, Deputy Governor of Bengal, David Hare and other Bengal advocates of English education. Some young members were noted for their eloquence; the *Hindu Patriot* informs us that "Krishna Mohan was the readiest and most effective speaker, unaffected in manner, calm and unimpassioned, though sometimes bursting into vehemence, and always practical." The members were not satisfied merely with oral proceedings, but also started a paper called "The Parthenon," which was for a time widely circulated. It contained articles such as "Down with Hinduism;" "Down with Orthodoxy." Such youthful activities alarmed the College authorities, who as a result, through Professor H. H. Wilson, stopped publication of the paper. Most of Derozio's students made their mark in later life, and as Babu Peary Chand Mitra declares,

the "moral lessons taught by Derozio gradually produced good practical effects." Nor was Mr. Thomas Edwards wrong in stating that "to the despised and all but unknown Eurasian lad, Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, belongs the chief glory and high honour of being the first, and to this day, the most effectual motive power to move to its very depths the religious sentiments, aspirations and beliefs of educated Hindus" (1). Indeed the influence of English education, coupled with the teaching imparted by Derozio, heralded the dawn of a new era in Bengal. Unfortunately the parents of the students did not value the beneficent aspect of Derozio's teaching and that fact, added to the machinations of unscrupulous people who circulated false rumours against his precepts, caused the Managing Committee of the Hindu College to dismiss him in 1831. Mr. Bradley-Birt, in his introduction to *Derozio's Poems*, points out that "Much as they misunderstood his methods of thought, they made no mistake as to his extraordinary power and influence over the minds of all those of a younger generation with whom he was brought in contact" (2). Derozio had nothing in common with the spirit displayed by so many Eurasians to-day. He was proud to reckon India as his own country. The "Eurasian Byron," as Derozio was styled, loved his students greatly, as the following oft-quoted lines testify:—

"Expanding like the petals of young flowers
I watch the gentle opening of your minds,
And the sweet loosening of the spell that binds
Your intellectual energies and powers
That stretch (like young birds in soft summer hours),
Their wings to try their strength."

Krishna Mohan was one of the very few favourite students of Derozio, and was in constant attendance with other friends at the sick bed of their teacher, when he died only eight months after dismissal. Again Krishna Mohan took an active part at the memorial meeting held in the Parental Academy to consider the erection of a monument to Derozio's memory.

It would be interesting to compare the influence of Derozio, Richardson, Cowell or Tawney upon their students with that exercised at the present day by professors in some of the Calcutta Colleges in the course of academic relations with their students. In those early days students loved their teachers and were loved in return. Now they ventilate their grievances by violent methods directed against the College authorities, thus taking the law in their own hands. This is a significant symptom which invites diagnosis.

Before leaving the Hindu College in 1829 Krishna Mohan was offered a teachership at the Delhi College, which after accepting he felt himself obliged to relinquish. Later, however, he accepted a post at the Hare

(1) See p. 91 of *Henry Derozio* by Thomas Edwards, Calcutta, 1884.

(2) Mr. Bradley-Birt wrote an excellent Introduction to *Derozio's Poems*; but it contains facts already mentioned by Mr. Edwards in his *Life of Derozio*.

School. During that time a journalistic spirit arose amongst the young reformers, and Krishna Mohan started a weekly organ called *The Inquirer* in order to "wage war against Hinduism." His friends were equally active, and one, named Russik Krishna Mullick, became the editor of *Gyannanashan*, while another, Prosunno Kumar Tagore, became responsible for *The Reformer*. These young writers denounced Hinduism week after week in the columns of their respective journals. Not the least effective of the appeals was that of the *The Inquirer*, whose editor pointed out to the orthodox Hindus the defects of their religion and circulated his paper gratuitously among them. Mr. Lal Behari Day rightly remarked that amongst the brilliant band of students Krishna Mohan "was by far the most effective in his denunciations of Hinduism." All those papers were ably edited, and we get glimpses of their reforming zeal in Mr. Day's reminiscences. "Week after week he put, in the columns of *The Enquirer*, the orthodox Hindus into the pillory. Deeming the columns of his paper not wide enough for the exercise of his satirical powers, he published a drama, which he named the *Persecuted*, in which he showed, with much wit and sarcasm, that those members of the Hindu community who passed for orthodox were in reality hypocrites, and that, in truth, there was no such thing as caste. He thus became, amongst the band of reformers, the most uncompromising denouncer of the national superstition (3). His house became the resort of those young men who had perceived the absurdity of the national religion, and were breaking through the fetters of caste. An incident occurred in his house in August, 1831, which greatly excited the orthodox Hindus, and made Krishna Mohan the object of persecution. One evening, when he was not at home, his friends as usual went into his room, and entered into friendly discussion. As all of them were denouncing caste, one of them proposed that they should give a practical proof of their sincerity by eating beef, which is the Hindu's abomination. Beef was accordingly brought from a shop, and put upon the table. Every one present ate a little of it; but as that meat is not palatable to a Hindu, a good deal remained uneaten. A mischievous fellow proposed that the uneaten portion should be thrown on the premises of the next door neighbour, a Brahmin of the orthodox stamp. The proposal was accepted; the meat flung into the yard of the Brahmin's house, amidst shouts of 'Beef! beef! beef!' The consequences may be imagined. All Calcutta was excited. The horror and indignation of the Hindus knew no bounds. Krishna Mohan was asked by his relatives either to abjure his heretical opinions and practices, or to leave the house. He chose the latter alternative. For one month he lived in the house of a friend" (4). Krishna Mohan in after life described that episode in the following moving terms:—"We left the home where we passed our infant days; we left our mother that nourished us in our childhood; we left our brothers with whom we associated in our earliest days; we left our sisters

(3) Krishna Mohan particularly attacked Rajah Radha Kanta Deb.

(4) See p. 32-44 of *Recollections of Alexander Duff*, by the Rev. Lal Behari Day, London, 1879.

with whom we sympathized since they were born " (5). The excitement caused amongst the orthodox Hindus by his conduct did not readily die down. The vernacular newspapers of the day continued for months to vilify him and his brother "apostates." The result of the agitation was so great that some parents became alarmed at the apparent danger of English education and withdrew their boys from the Hindu College. Many of the students who opposed Hinduism, recanted and resumed idolatrous faith and practices (6).

Before we describe Dr. Duff's influence on Krishna Mohan's life and career, it may be noted that it was the example of the Rajah Rammohan Roy, who combined in himself the best traditions of East and West that stimulated him to follow in the footsteps of that great reformer. Krishna Mohan had never met the Rajah but knew his son Ramaprosad Roy. It was not till after his marriage also that he began to realise the force of those rigid social customs observed by the women-folk of his own house. He was shocked at the austerities and penances which his widowed mother practised daily. When he remonstrated with her she said that she had to do it in order to satisfy the diety, because *Death* had claimed her husband. This made Krishna Mohan disgusted with the thought of such a deity: he declared in consequence that there was no God and became a professed atheist.

Dr. Duff took advantage of this situation and invited him to take refuge in his house. Mr. J. N. Ogilvie described how "when every Hindu door was closed against him, Duff's door opened, and an intercourse began which culminated later in the accession to the Church of Christ of a man who, for half a century, remained one of its greatest ornaments" (7). Dr. Duff expressed approval of Krishna Mohan's proceedings against error; but regretted that the truth of Christianity had as yet made no impression upon him. Dr. Duff further suggested that Krishna Mohan should inquire into the evidences and doctrines of Christianity and these so much impressed him that he at once arranged for weekly meetings to be held "for religious instruction and discussion" at the former's house. At the same time he bought a copy of the Holy Bible which he studied very attentively and often visited Dr. Duff for the purpose of discussing various subjects connected with it. Dr. Duff from the day of his own arrival in Calcutta in 1830, until he retired in 1863, proved an earnest and zealous missionary.

(5) See p. 155, Vol. 2 of *The Life of Alexander Duff*.

(6) Besides the authorities already quoted, the present writer owes some of his information concerning Dr. Banerjea's early life to his widowed daughter, Mrs. Wheeler. Ram Gopal Sanyal's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India, Vol. II*; and Sivanath Sastri's *Ramtanu Lahiri* have been useful. Mr. Pillai's *Representative Indians* and Mr. B. C. Ghose's *Sketches of Indian Christians* are mainly based on Sanyal's work. It may be remarked that Mr. Pillai inserted in his book a paragraph verbatim from the obituary of Dr. K. M. Banerjea published in the *Hindu Patriot* for May 18, 1885, without any word of acknowledgment. This refers to the last paragraph of his sketch of Dr. Banerjea. See p. 67 of *Representative Indians*.

(7) See p. 392-3 of *The Apostles of India*.

It is not surprising therefore that he exercised a beneficial influence upon the Hindu youths of Calcutta. Mr. Lal Behari Day in recalling those stirring days in the history of the Presbyterian Mission in Bengal wrote of Dr. Duff that:—"He had already appeared as a public lecturer on Christianity, and his lectures had taken Calcutta by storm. These lectures had not only created a great sensation in the Hindu community, but they had brought to the Christian faith one of the brightest and best educated youths of the city. Only a year and a half before, Dr. Duff had baptized Krishna Mohan Banerjea; and the conversion of Krishna Banda, as he was then universally called, had produced a tremendous impression on the Hindu community." Krishna Mohan writing as the editor of the *Inquirer* referred to the great European reformers in alluding to his own experience:—"Does not history testify that Luther, alone and unsupported, blew a blast which shook the mansions of error and prejudice? Did not Knox, opposed as he was by bigots and fanatics, carry the cause of reformation into Scotland? Blessed are we that we are to reform the Hindoo nation. We have blown the trumpet, and we must continue to blow on. We have attacked Hindooism, and will persevere in attacking it until we finally seal our triumph" (8). Such was the determination and zeal of this Brahmin youth, who was at the time apparently an earnest student not only of the Bible, but also of Church History of the Reformation period in Europe.

It was not long before Krishna Mohan grasped the importance as well as the practical truth of Christianity. Dr. Duff's powerful reasoning and persuasive eloquence so impressed him and his friends that they returned day after day for further instruction, continuing with great earnestness to do so in spite of considerable opposition. Although the keen Bengali intellect appreciated the arguments employed by Dr. Duff, it was only gradually and painfully that Krishna Mohan and his special friends became convinced of the love of Christ and the work of the Holy Spirit. In the *Inquirer* for August 28, 1832, he gave an account of the baptism of his friend, Mohesh Chunder Ghose, and expressed the hope that Dr. Duff would be able to "witness more such happy results" in the future. Dr. Duff himself described the gradual change in Krishna Mohan's attitude towards Christianity thus:—"His case excited more than ordinary interest. . . As a Brahmin, he would from infancy be initiated into all the mysteries of a heathen priestcraft. As a Kulin Brahman, a Brahmin of the highest caste, he had before him the prospect of much worldly enjoyment; and the certain assurance of unbounded reverence from the great mass, who would esteem it their highest privilege to be permitted to do him honour. But Providence had better things in store for Krishna Mohan Banerjea. . . From the first, he was a most regular and attentive hearer of the lectures specially addressed to those educated Natives [sic] who fiercely denounced Hinduism without having succeeded in discovering a substitute. And, to his credit be it spoken, he never relaxed in his endeavours to impress his countrymen

(8) Dr. George Smith quoted those lines in the *Life of Dr. Alexander Duff*.

with a sense of the duty of attending, in order to give the subject a candid consideration.

"The first visible symptom of improvement in his views appeared in the unhesitating assertion, in his Journal, of the being of one Supreme Intelligence; whose power, wisdom and goodness, as manifested in the works of creation, are without bounds or limit. Afterwards were admitted many discussions, chiefly carried on by correspondents, respecting the evidences, and last of all, the doctrines of Christianity. And though, in conducting these, the editor took no very decided part, yet did it most clearly appear to which side he was gradually inclined to lean. While he professed to admire the moral precepts of the Gospel, his mind was long painful agitated with doubts respecting the divine authority and inspiration of the Scriptures. And after their authority had been established to his satisfaction, his mind revolted at what appeared to him the utter unreasonableness of some of the doctrines therein propounded; and more particularly the doctrine of the *atonement*, which necessarily implies the divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ " (9).

Dr. Duff further quotes from Krishna Mohan's account of his own conversion. The quotation is long, but well repays attentive perusal. It may be summarised as follows:—After being led to examine closely into the claims of Christianity he found himself anxiously weighing in his mind the Socinian and Trinitarian interpretations. To the former he objected that it was too trivial to justify "such extraordinary measures as those which Jesus employed for *the* propagation" of His Gospel. In the latter the Atonement was the great stumbling block to his "mere natural reasons." The latter, however, being the plain teaching of Scripture, he tried to persuade himself of its truth, but "reason" barred the way. Thus there were for long doubt and perplexity. Then within him occurred an example of Christ's own words. 'It is the spirit that quickeneth.' To his merely intellectual understanding of the Atonement came illumination from the Holy Spirit. Then he *knew*. 'The things of the Spirit of God. . . are spiritually discerned.' Further on, commenting on this experience, he points out that while the *head* may assent to divine truth, the *heart* will not obey till the Spirit has quickened (10).

Dr. Duff tells us that after carefully weighing the evidences of Christianity and being convinced of its truth Krishna Mohan declared his wish to be baptised into the Church of Christ. The actual baptism took place on October 17, 1832, by Krishna Mohan's special desire, in Dr. Duff's lecture room. That room had been associated with his opposition to Christianity in the presence of his friends; he felt it fitting, therefore, that his public confession of Christ should be made before those who had known him formerly "as an idolater, an atheist, a deist and unbeliever." The Service,

(9) See pp. 652-53 of *India, and India Missions*, by the Rev. Alexander Duff, Edinburgh, 1839.

(10) See p. 653-4 of *India, and India Missions*, by the Rev. Alexander Duff.



[Reproduced from the "Portrait Sketches of the public characters of Calcutta" by
Colesworthy Grant.]

it would appear, deeply impressed all present. These included some ladies besides a number of students from the Hindu College. Amongst the latter were some of Krishna Mohan's special friends. The Service began with prayers offered by Mr. Mackay, and after questions addressed by Dr. Duff to Krishna Mohan regarding his faith and convictions, the Holy Sacrament was administered. Dr. Duff then led in prayer in which the whole congregation devoutly joined.

The *Missionary Register* for July, 1834, gives an account of the baptism:—"The fact of a sensible young man, having received a liberal education, and who was a Coolin Brahmin, throwing off the shackles of a grovelling superstition, and embracing for his faith the glorious Gospel, after a long and patient probation, with the sacrifice of the affections of a tender mother and fond relations, exposed to the ridicule and cruel hatred of his countrymen, and, despite of these, counting them as dross for the excellency of the knowledge of the Truth, and eventually avowing his conviction of that Truth, and receiving the outward sign of that invisible grace of which he is now the subject, was indeed enough to excite that deep interest which was so conspicuously manifested" (11). Krishna Mohan fifty years after this event told a fellow-Christian that "he could still hear the piercing shriek with which his venerable mother heard the news—a shriek which Christian England has never heard and can hardly yet appreciate" (12). It will be easily realised how profound was the sensation caused by Krishna Mohan's baptism through all classes of society in Calcutta. Every publicity was given to it by the leading newspapers of the day. It may be mentioned that others besides Dr. Duff used their influence in persuading Krishna Mohan to accept Christianity. These were Archdeacon Dealtry (13), Colonel Powney, Mr. Hill and Captain Corbyn of the Royal Navy. Mr. Sanyal records that in the latter's house one day Krishna Mohan read "Horn's Study of Scripture" for three hours consecutively.

It must not be forgotten that the teaching and influence of Derozio were also largely responsible for the revolutionising change in the minds of Krishna Mohan and his friends in their search for Truth. Derozio insisted on his students exercising their own powers of thought in the formation of a true conception of God. That aspect of Derozio's teaching was misjudged by the Rev. Lal Behari Day. In May, 1885, a letter from him appeared in the *Englishman* referring to an extract quoted from Mr. Edwards's *Life of Derozio*. This concerned the latter's religious influence upon the students of the Hindu College. In our opinion Mr. Day was not altogether just in his estimate of Derozio's teaching and influence, neither

(11) See p. 323-24 of the *Missionary Register*, July, 1834.

(12) See an article on K. M. Banerjea in the *Young Men of India*, May, 1912.

(13) Thomas Dealtry was a Commoner of St. Katherine's College, Cambridge, where he studied Civil Law and took the LL.B. degree in 1828. He went out to Calcutta in 1829, and after some years Bishop Wilson made him Archdeacon. He was also Pastor of the Old Church. Dealtry was renowned for his gifts of eloquence. Afterwards he became Bishop of Madras.

was Mr. Edwards in his reply on May 18 absolutely correct regarding Dr. Duff's own influence and share in Krishna Mohan's conversion. Some of the arguments used on both sides were irrelevant and therefore not convincing. It was stated by the Rev. Mr. Dall that Dwarka Nath Tagore attributed Krishna Mohan's conversion to "beef and brandy" which "tasted very well."

It has been suggested by many writers that Krishna Mohan was the first Brahmin convert to Christianity. He was actually the first Brahmin convert of Dr. Duff, but other Brahmins had been previously baptised. In 1759 Kiernander, the first Protestant missionary in Bengal, baptised a Brahmin (14); and in 1802 William Carey among other converts baptised a Brahmin of the name of Krishna Prosad (15). It appears that Krishna Mohan after his conversion attended Sunday Services at the Old Church in the morning, and St. Andrews in the evening.

Thus a new chapter opened in the life of Krishna Mohan Banerjee. In entering on it he literally obeyed the injunction of his Master. "If any man will come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me." As Pandit Sivanath Sastri truly said his "countrymen now hated and opposed him more than ever; but, undaunted by all their attempts to crush him, he rose higher and higher, till he attained a position of great public influence."

Allusion has already been made to Dr. Duff's activities in lecturing to the educated young men of Calcutta. During this period his success in evangelising was very great. His lectures on the Evidences and Doctrines of the Gospel attracted much attention and the lecture room was crowded by members of the upper and educated classes eager to listen to his eloquent reasoning, illustrated as it was by wide knowledge of literature and science. As a result of his labours several of the educated youths of Calcutta were converted to Christianity. Gopi Nath Nandi, father of Dr. George Nandi of Hyderabad, soon followed the example of Krishna Mohan, being greatly aided by the latter in coming to a decision.

Krishna Mohan now found himself obliged to earn his own livelihood and accepted the post of teacher at the C. M. S. School. Here he had been preceded by his friend Mohesh Chunder Ghose. He joined the Church of England not long after baptism and his reasons for doing so were explained in an autobiography published in the *India Review*, edited by Dr. Frederick Corbyn. Krishna Mohan considered that the doctrines of the Church of England were more in accordance with Scripture than those professed by the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, in which Church he had not become a Communicant. That decision was naturally a great blow and disappointment to Dr. Duff, who had taken infinite pains and trouble in preparing him for baptism, besides instructing him in the Christian Faith. He never wavered in his ecclesiastical convictions, but lived and died a

(14) See p. 6 of *The Centenary of the Old or Mission Church*.

(15) See pp. 139-40 of *Life of William Carey*, by George Smith.



THE VENERABLE T. DEALTRY, LL.B.,
Archdeacon of Calcutta (1835-1849).
[Reproduced from *The Indian Review* (March, 1843).]

faithful member of the Church of England in India. Krishna Mohan cannot however be altogether exonerated from having behaved unfairly to his old friend Dr. Duff. The result of his action was a long and painful controversy carried on in the columns of the *India Review* in the form of long articles from Krishna Mohan, Dr. Duff and Dr. Ewart. After the editor of the *India Review* had closed the controversy it was continued in *The Record*, published in London. That paper was and still is the organ of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England and in those days bitterly attacked the opinions held by members of the High Church School of thought. The Calcutta correspondent of *The Record* (June 12, 1843) unjustly accused Krishna Mohan of becoming a "Jesuit" and an "Associate Professor" of St. Xavier's College. He also attacked him for his sympathy and co-operation with the authorities of Bishop's College, threatening him with possible action on the part of the Bishop and the Archdeacon of Calcutta if he should ever positively identify himself with the High Church Party. It was unfortunate that Dr. Duff during the controversy also indulged in satirical invectives against the same school of thought which he rightly judged had influenced Krishna Mohan in his resolution to leave the Presbyterian Church. It is to be regretted also that he styled him the "Rev. Babu" which was hardly in keeping with his own Christian profession. In spite of the bitter controversy between them, Krishna Mohan continued to cherish a deep regard for his old friend as will be shewn later in the course of this sketch.

After Krishna Mohan became a Christian he showed much zeal in propagating his new faith and got into serious trouble by assisting one of his pupils, desirous of becoming a Christian, to escape from his father's house. The latter obtained a writ of *Habeas Corpus* against him, and the presiding Judge, Sir Edward Ryan, found that the boy had been "allured" from his parents and ordered that he should be returned to his father, as he was still under age (16). At that time amongst Krishna Mohan's other activities he took much interest in the Church Missionary Association, and during 1833-4 travelled extensively in the North Western Provinces. On his return he had the great joy of learning that his wife, Bindubasini, had finally decided to accept Christianity. Owing to the opposition of her orthodox parents, he had much difficulty in arranging for her to rejoin him and was obliged to obtain the assistance of a Magistrate.

In 1836, through Archdeacon Dealtry's influence, he obtained a scholarship in Bishop's College, for the purpose of studying theology. At the same time also, he superintended the Oriental studies of the students. He devoted himself assiduously to the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew under Dr. Mill, first Principal of Bishop's College. His classical studies proved of great assistance to his work in theology and literature. The following year he offered himself for Holy Orders and was ordained Deacon on June 24, by Bishop Wilson (17). In 1837, the same year, he had the

(16) See Sanyal's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Great Men of India*.

(17) See p. 84 of *Church Missionary Gleaner*, July, 1885.

privilege of preaching in English, at the Old Mission Church, the funeral sermon in memory of his friend and colleague Mohesh Chunder Ghose. This was his first sermon, and the Bishop heard it with "wonder and delight;" it was also much appreciated by David Hare who was present on the occasion. Krishna Mohan pointed out in his sermon that "Mohesh Christian was a creature very different from Mohesh Pagan." He further said that: "His piety as a Christian, his diligence as a student, his attainments as a scholar, and his courtesy as a man, had rendered him an object of love and regard to all around him." Whilst a Deacon he administered his first baptism—on Jadunath Ghose. This was followed in 1838 by the baptism of his own brother Kali Mohan in the Chapel of Bishop's College.

(To be continued.)

H. DAS.

Organised Banking in the Days of John Company.

THERE is no more obscure subject in Indian Economic history than the growth and operations of the European Joint-Stock Banks and the indigenous banking houses which conducted their business in India during this period. It has remained and is bound to remain for a long time an unwritten chapter in the history of Indian Banking as these banks did not publish valuable statistics and other data stating precisely their assets and liabilities which would be of service in any scientific account of them. A few papers of great importance which have not been used so far by the writers on Indian Banking really throw a valuable light on the development and the state of exchange and monetary conditions of that time.

There are four publications which attempt to throw light on the banking institutions working during this period. MacGregor writing in 1848 enumerates the banks of this period in his "Oriental Commerce Part (XXIII)" which forms a part of his wider work "Commercial Tariffs." The next writer R. M. Martin furnishes us a list of banks in existence in India during the years 1803-1854 (1). There is a Parliamentary return of the year 1860 which gives us the following list of the Banks doing business in India at that time (2).

BENGAL.	MADRAS.	BOMBAY.	COUNTRY BANKS.
Bank of Bengal ...	The Bank of Madras.	The Bank of Bombay.	The Dacca Bank.
The Agra & United Service Bank.	Branch of the Agra & United Service Bank.	Branch of the Agra & United Service Bank.	The Delhi Bank.
The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China.	The Government Savings Bank.	The Government Savings Bank.	The Simla Bank.
The Chartered Mercantile Bank of London, India and China.	Branch of the Chartered Mercantile Bank of London, India & China.	Branch of the Chartered Mercantile Bank of London, India & China.	The Uncovered Service Bank of Agra.
The Commercial Bank of India.		Branch of the Commercial Bank of India (3).	

(1) See R. M. Martin, Indian Empire, Vol. I, p. 565.

(2) See the Collection of Parliamentary Papers 1843-1870 in the Library of the University of Calcutta; Document, c, refers to the banks existing in India in 1860.

(3) Compare this with Martin's list.

BENGAL.	MADRAS.	BOMBAY.	COUNTRY BANKS.
The North-Western Bank.	.....	.....	.....
The Oriental Bank Corporation.	Branch of the Oriental Banking Corporation.	Branch of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China.	The Agra Savings Bank.
The Government Savings Bank.	.....	.....	.....

To have an idea of banks conducting business in the earlier years reference must be made to McGregor. His publication already referred to enumerates the Banks doing business in Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Ceylon. It was natural on his part to make no reference to the country banks which undoubtedly existed at that time as his work was solely concerned with commerce at the chief port centres. Coming to his list we find the following banks mentioned by him.

CALCUTTA.	BOMBAY.	MADRAS.	CEYLON.
The Bank of Bengal.	Besides the banks of the town there are branches or agencies of other banks. He does not however specify the names of the Banking institutions.	The Bank of Madras.	The Bank of Ceylon.
The Union Bank ...		The branches of other banks are not mentioned by him.	The Oriental Bank.
The Agra Bank ...			
The Bank of Western India (Calcutta Branch.			

Of the two banks in Ceylon, viz., the Bank of Ceylon and the Oriental Bank MacGregor gives interesting details which are not furnished either by Cooke or any other recent writer as regards their capital, nature of business and note-issue. The Bank of Ceylon was a Bank of Issue incorporated by Royal Charter in 1840 and confined its business solely to the Island of Ceylon. But to facilitate its exchange business it had agencies in the Presidency Towns of India. Its circulation of notes amounted in 1840 to £127,487 according to MacGregor. The Oriental Bank had its head office in London and also a Board of Directors in Bombay. It had considerable operations at Calcutta, Madras, Canton, Hongkong and Singapore. Its note-issue in 1846 was about £15,000. The total capital of both the banks as applied to Ceylon was very limited being about £100,000 to £125,000. In addition to exchange business the sale of bills in England and the Presidency Towns of India they received deposits and discounted local bills for merchants and traders. The latter mainly comprise purchases made by the *chetties* from importers chiefly of British produce and the acceptances of the Moormen retailers whose paper is for smaller amounts proportionate to their minor transactions. "Speaking of the gradual growth of their banking business the transactions of 1846 rose roughly to two millions while in 1845 they amounted to only one and half millions." MacGregor also testifies to the absence of speculation on the part of the merchants of Ceylon (4).

(4) See *Oriental Commerce* pp. 710-712.

R. M. Martin who seems to be a more careful writer than MacGregor gives us the following table which shows at a glance the work of the banks of this period (1803-1854) as certain errors have to be corrected the full list has necessarily to be quoted.

	YEAR OF ESTAB- LISH- MENT.	HEAD OFFICE.	BRANCHES & AGENCIES.	Capital Sub- scribed.	Paid-up capital.	Notes in circula- tion.	Specie in coffers	Bills under discount.
The Bank of Bengal ...	1809	Calcutta.	.....	10,70,000	10,70,000	17,14,711	8,51,964	1,25,251
The Bank of Madras ...	1843	Madras.	.....	3,00,000	3,00,000	1,23,719	1,39,960	59,871
The Bank of Bombay ...	1840	Bombay.	.....	5,22,000	5,22,000	5,71,089	2,40,073	1,95,836
The Oriental Bank ...	1851	London.	.....	12,15,000	12,15,000	1,29,279	11,46,529	29,18,399
The Agra & United Provinces Bank.	1833	Calcutta.	Agra, Madras, Lahore, Canton and London.	7,00,000	7,00,000	.....	74,362	.....
The North-West Bank	1844	Calcutta.	Bombay, Simla, Mussuri, Agra, Delhi and Cawnpore.	2,20,560	2,20,000	.....	.....	.....
The London & Eastern Bank.	1854	.....	.....	2,50,000	.....	3,21,000	.....	.....
The Commercial Bank	1854	Bombay.	Agents in London, Calcutta, Canton and Shanghai.	10,00,000	4,56,000	.....	.....	.....
The Delhi Bank ...	1844	Delhi.	Agents in London, Calcut, Bombay and Madras.	.....	1,80,000	.....	.....	.....
The Simla Bank ...	1844	.....	.....	.....	63,850	.....	.....	.....
The Dacca Bank ...	1846	Dacca.	.....	30,000	.....	.....	.....	.....
The Mercantile Bank	.....	Bombay.	London, Calcutta, Colombo, Kandy, Canton and Shanghai.	5,00,000	3,28,826	7,77,156	77,239	1,09,547
India, China & Austra- lia Bank.	did not commence	did not commence	business as yet.	did not commence	business as yet.	did not commence	business as yet.	did not commence

A comparison of this list with the Parliamentary one and the final list prepared by me would disclose certain discrepancies. Firstly the Head Office of the Commercial Bank is stated to be located at Bombay by Martin. The Parliamentary list which must be considered as a more authoritative source locates it at Calcutta. This Bank was started in 1845 and not in 1854. The Oriental Bank is supposed to be started in 1851 according to Martin's list. But it was first started in 1842 under the title of Bank of Western India and to secure the privileges of 1845 Act, removed to London and became the Oriental Bank in 1846 and it became the Oriental Banking Corporation in 1849 by virtue of its amalgamation with the Bank of Ceylon. This was done mainly in order to annex the note-issue privilege of the Bank of Ceylon. The mistakes in the matter of date are not due to Martin but Dr. Ambedkar who quotes the above list which contains however no dates fills in the date column and the discrepancy in dates must of course be attributed to Dr. Ambedkar (5).

Cooke (6) records the work of thirty-nine European Banks which have been started in India or London during this period mainly with the view of conducting banking business in India. But even this list is not an exhaustive one for he fails to mention the names of some of the earlier European Banks of the 18th Century. It is evident that his information of the Earlier European Banks is very scrappy and is chiefly confined to few details of these operations as could be gleaned from the early records of the Bank of Bengal. It is evident that he has not consulted any of the periodicals and newspapers or else he would not have omitted the work of the three Military Banks of Bengal, Bombay and Madras (7).

A recent writer who comments in an interesting and detailed manner on the method of the Early European Banks in Calcutta bases his information on the Selections of the Calcutta Gazette and by a reference to the Government records of that time in the India Government Record Office and the Secretariat Office of the Government of Bengal he has succeeded in pointing out the qualitative aspect of the work of the Early European Banks in Calcutta, viz., the Bengal Bank, the Hindustan Bank, the General Bank of India, and the General Bank of Warren Hastings and the Bank of Calcutta which became rechristened as the Bank of Bengal as soon as it received its charter in 1809. His knowledge of the Bank of this period is confined solely to Banks of the City of Calcutta and he makes no reference either to the earlier Bank which did business before the actual starting of the Bank of Hindostan or the contemporary Madras Banks. He does not even mention the name of the Carnatic Bank.

Dr. P. Banerjee in his valuable lectures on the State of Finance of the East India Company has given the public a glimpse into the nature of the work of the banks existing during these years—1770-1857. He succeeds in throwing more light on "the General Bank of Warren Hastings which should

(5) See Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's "Problems of the Rupee"—Footnote on p. 37.

(6) See Dr. H. Sinha "Early European Banks" Part I.

(7) See C. N. Cooke "Rise and Progress of Banking in India."

not however be mistaken for the General Bank of India started in 1785. The attempt of Warren Hastings to organise the Bank in 1773 and thus perfect the means of easy and safe remittance from the moffusil into the metropolitan city and the nature of the work of this short-lived institution are first outlined clearly in Price's History of Midnapore. Some more details are given by Dr. Banerjee (8).

Before the work of these banks, which have not been mentioned by these previous writers including Cooke and Brunyate, can be taken up in detail a reference to Cooke's list should be made.

NAME OF THE BANK.			Year of its starting.
(1) The Bank of Bengal	...	...	1806—Chartered in 1809.
(2) The Bank of Western India	...	...	1842
(3) The Oriental Bank	...	...	1846
(4) The Oriental Banking Corporation	...	...	1851
(5) The Bank of Madras	...	...	1843
(6) The Government Bank of Madras	...	...	1805
(7) The Bank of Bombay	...	...	1840
(8) The Union Bank	...	...	1829
(9) The Bank of Hindostan	...	...	1770
(10) The Commercial Bank	...	...	1819
(11) The Calcutta Bank	...	...	1824
(12) The Bank of Mirzapore	...	...	1835
(13) The Agra & United Service Bank, Ltd.	...	...	1833
(14) The North-Western Bank of India	...	...	1840
(15) The Delhi Bank Corporation	...	...	1844
(16) The Dacca Bank	...	...	1846
(17) The Benares Bank	...	...	1844
(18) The Simla Bank, Ltd.	...	...	1844
(19) The London and Eastern Banking Corporation	...	...	1854
(20) The Cawnpore Bank	...	...	1845
(21) The Uncovenanted Service Bank, Ltd.	...	...	1846
(22) The Agra Savings Fund	...	...	1842
(23) The Commercial Bank of India	...	...	1845
(24) The Government Savings Bank	...	...	1833
(25) The Chartered Bank of Asia	...	...	1852
(26) The Mercantile Bank of India, London and China	...	...	1853
(27) The Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China	...	...	1858
(28) The Bank of Ceylon	...	...	1840
(29) The Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China	...	...	1853
(30) The Punzab Bank, Ltd.	...	...	1860
(31) The Sindh Punzab and Delhi Bank Corporation, Ltd.	...	...	1860
(32) The Central Bank of Western India	...	...	Nov.—1860
(33) The Bank of Hindostan, China, and Japan Ltd.	...	...	1862
(34) The Bank of Rohilkand	...	...	1862
(35) The People's Bank of India, Ltd.	...	...	1860
(36) The Comptoir D'escompte of Paris	...	...	1860
(37) The Bengal Bank	...	?	1790
(38) The Bank of India	...	...	1828
(39) Carnatic Bank	...	...	?

(8) See *The Calcutta Review*, November, 1927, pp. 133 to 141.

Besides the above-mentioned banks which conducted business for some time Mr. Cooke also mentions the unsuccessful attempts that were made during this period to start banks in London with the sole purpose of conducting banking business in India. He casually mentions the attempts of the London merchants to found the "East India Bank" in 1826. (9) R. M. Martin strove his level best to secure a charter for his projected Bank of Asia in 1840 (10). Similarly in 1852 the London Bank of Australia and India was projected but owing to the opposition of the Colonial Office in London it failed to secure a Charter.

Since Cooke wrote the memorable lines that probably the first banking institution in India on European lines "was the Bank of Hindostan started in 1770" it has become the accepted article of faith among writers of Indian Banking History. This statement has to be accepted with much qualification. It must be understood that banks must have operated in India with either good or bad fortune even before that date. It is usual to consider the Government Bank of Lord William Bentinck as the only Government Bank conducted by the Government of Madras. As a matter of fact there were two such Government Banks conducted by the Madras Government. No mention has been made by any other writer of the attempts made in Bombay to conduct Banking business by the Government Bank started by the Government of Bombay. Even as regards some of the banks started in Bengal Cooke throws little light on their operations. For instance the General Bank of Warren Hastings is not mentioned by him. His description of the work of the Government Savings Bank is not fairly lucid. No information can be obtained from Cooke's book as regards the first Government Bank of Madras and the Carnatic Bank. He does not even mention the names of the British Bank or the Asiatic Bank. Even in the case of the joint-stock banks of the North-West Provinces only very little light is thrown on their operations. Although he has given very interesting details of the Agra Savings Bank or Agra Savings Fund as he styles it the three Military Banks did not attract his notice.

Most probably the credit of starting the first European managed banking institution belongs to the "benighted" province of Madras. It was however a Government institution managed by its officers belonging to the Council (11). It must have been started in 1683, as the following notification which appears in the Fort Saint George Gazette clearly proves this fact.

"By the Hon. East India Company's order we the Agent and Council of the Fort Saint George do hereby publicly declare unto all parties whatsoever that we will at any time take up and receive what sums of money so ever should be brought to us at six per cent. per annum. Interest for six or twelve months time or any longer term of years but no less than six

(9) For greater details see a pamphlet entitled "Reasons for the Establishment of a new Bank in India," 1838, London, a copy of this exists in the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

(10) See Parliamentary Paper entitled "Correspondence relating to the projected Bank of Asia" Document C of the Parliamentary Papers, 1840-1870.

(11) See Talbhoy Wheeler, "Madras in the Olden Times," p. 71.

months nor to exceed this time we shall agree for and we shall for the better security of such persons that shall so let out their money give our receipt for the same under the Honourable Company's seal."

A close scrutiny of the prior records of the Government discloses the information that it was in 1682 that the Hon'ble the East India Company recommended the Government of the Fort Saint George Gazette "to obtain a loan by constituting itself a Bank for the receipt of fixed deposits." Hence Governor Gyfford promptly resolved "to raise a bank of money to the value of One Hundred Thousand Pounds at six per cent. rate of interest (12). Thus it becomes apparent that in order to augment the territorial revenues of Madras the plan of starting the Government Bank on the model of the Loundon Goldsmith's banks was mooted by the Hon'ble the East India Company. It is not clear whether it issued notes also but there is no doubt that it acted as a bank of deposit and discount (13).

Chronologically viewed the next attempt at founding an organised Bank was made in Bombay. This time again it was the Government that pioneered the way. The following extract from the Bombay Government Diaries clearly proves that a Bank existed in Bombay prior to the starting of the semi-Government or what is properly termed as the Presidency Bank of Bombay in 1840. From a perusal of the Consultations of 20th June, 1720 we find that a Bank was to be organised as this suggestion was approved by the Hon'ble the Court of Directors. Messrs. Brown and Phillips members of the Bombay Council were appointed to devise a scheme for the regular carrying on of the banking business. The increase of revenue was the object of the Council and like the impecunios Government of Madras which did banking business in 1683 in order to augment its revenues one of the objects of the Bombay Government was to increase the revenues by undertaking banking business. The scheme was duly prepared by Messrs. Brown and Phillips and placed before the Council for approval on 25th July, 1720. The "black merchants" were also taken into confidence and the schme was sanctioned at the same sitting of the Council. The managers of the Bank were to receive one per cent. of the profits for their trouble. The Bank commenced its operations and until 1724 no remuneration was actually paid to the Assistant of the Bank when it was resolved to award a gratuity of £50 per annum.

From a perusal of the Consultations of the Bombay Council for the year 1727-1728 dated 1st March, 1727 we find that the Bank was conducting business at that time in Bombay for the two petitions read before the Council from the Mayor's Court clearly suggest that the "two thousand Rupees the amount of fine now standing upon the books to be appropriated

(12) See P. C. Vol. III, 21st June, 1683.

(13) See Mrs. Penny "History of the Fort Saint George," Prof. Dodwell holds a contrary view and does not consider it as a Bank but only thinks that the word "bank" was used in the literal Dictionary sense of the term and that its banking operations cannot be traced in full. See his Report on the Records of the Madras Government, p. 85.

towards a new person be taken out of the Treasury and employed in the Banks at interest or entrusted in the hands of said Court for answering the most necessary occasion of the said Court."

The very great scarcity of specie in 1770 in the Island of Bombay led the Government to discover some means by which the Currency situation would be eased to any appreciable extent. One Mr. Taylor a member of the Council proposed the issuing of bills from the Bank on loans upon the present security. "It was resolved that this plea should be put into execution and that notes be immediately prepared to the amount of debt due from the Treasury to the Bank being with interest about Rs. 80,000. The notes to be from forty to one thousand Rs. each signed by the manager of the bank and sealed with the Hon'ble Company's seal."

This original plan was greatly improved by an officer of the Bank of England Mr. Robert Blackford and his final draft of the proposal was to make the Bank a bank of deposit and issue. The bank was to be privileged to issue notes up to 8 lakhs of Rs. only. The Treasury should in the beginning assist the bank with one-third of eight lakhs of Rs. in specie and notes up to this amount should be retained by the Treasury to be returned when specie is repaid. Persons who borrow money from the Bank should undertake to encourage the circulation of the notes which were to carry interest payable only after the expiry of ten days. The form of notes was to be exactly similar to the notes of the Bank of England. So as to protect the gentlemen of the Council who are to manage the Bank the form of the note was to be signed in the following manner—

"For the Court of Directors of the United East India Company"—thus making the East India Company alone liable for the notes. The first notes of the Bank were to be of the following denominations for each lakh of Rs.

Rs. 10	of	1,000 each	...	...	...	Rs. 10,000
,, 24	of	500	,,	...	...	,, 12,000
,, 24	of	300	,,	...	...	,, 7,200
,, 100	of	200	,,	...	...	,, 20,000
,, 200	of	100	,,	...	...	,, 20,000
,, 400	of	50	,,	...	...	,, 20,000
,, 540	of	20	,,	...	...	,, 10,800
TOTAL						,, 100,000

(14) This plan should be compared with the scheme of Warren Hastings to issue notes in Bengal in 1780 against the deposit of Sicca Rs. 30 lakhs lying in the Treasury in the New Fort William. He adopts the same form as this so as to exonerate the officials from all liabilities with reference

to notes issued under their signature. This plan was not however carried out as the notes issued by an impecunious Government could hardly have circulated. The similarity between the two plans is striking and Warren Hastings' plan must have borrowed from a perusal of the plans of the Bombay Government.

It has already been related that an officer of the Bank of England was requisitioned for improving the original plan of the Bank determined by the Bombay Council. The first notes of the Bank of England were issued exactly in a similar manner. A specimen of the 1699 Note of the Bank of England is appended to enable the readers to note the points of similarity in the matter of note-issuing.

27 April,
J. V.

I promised to pay to Mr. Daniel Denny or Bearer on demand the Summe of One Hundred and fifty pounds eight shillings and eight pence—
London the 24th day of January, 1699—.

For the Governor and Company of the Bank of England.

JOHN (WASE).

It was understood that as time and experience alone would enable it to find what denomination of notes are in great demand. The portion of the notes for which there were to be no demand was to be destroyed and replaced to that amount by those which appear to be most in demand. Thus it clearly proves that no bank notes circulated prior to this date in Bombay or else previous experience would have been drawn upon in the determination of the denominations of the notes. Another significant fact that has to be noted is the round figure for which the notes were to be issued. When compared with the first specimen notes of the Bank of England it would be noticed that they were for broken denominations including shillings and pence even. At any rate the Bombay Bank's note was to be an improvement on this old form of the note of the Bank of England.

As only eight lakhs worth of notes were to be issued it was wisely resolved that no person was to be lent more than Rs. 8,000 at any one time and the Bank should consider any second application for notes on its own merits. This shows that the Bombay Council seems to have dimly perceived the principles of sound banking viz., that all eggs were not to be placed in the same basket and that the Bank should distribute its capital in the hands of all deserving applicants and that credit should be created without any bias—be it communal, religious or political.

It was also determined to attract current accounts and pay a deposit rate on interest viz., five per cent.

The Bank must have conducted business for some years for we find it recorded in July 1778 "the debt from the Treasury due to the Bank amounted to a very large sum" and it was swelled to a large extent by the annual interest payable thereon. The Council felt great anxiety on this score and wrote to the Hon'ble Court of Directors to

give it specific instructions "whether to fix it at a certain sum or to write it off altogether and establish a new bank whenever the state of our finances will permit."

This Bank might not also have issued large amount of notes for latter-day (15) writers have often mentioned that previous to the foundation of the Presidency Bank of Bombay in 1840 "paper money was almost unknown in mercantile transactions of Bombay" as at Calcutta and Madras.

Passing on to the territory of Madras we notice that Lord Macartaney also strove to raise a Bank of money meaning thereby a "Public Treasure" in connection with the settlement of the Nawab's and the Tanjore debts. His plan was that the Bank should keep one third of its funds in specie and lend two-thirds on good bills or valuable pledges at six per cent. He opined however that this would convert Madras into "a shop of pitiful usury instead of a city of honourable commerce" (16).

The present knowledge of the writers on the Carnatic Bank—a banking institution of this period is confined only to the single paragraph written by C. N. Cooke. He refers to the Carnatic Bank in the following language. "This is the name of a Bank which was in existence at the Madras Presidency in 1791. At present we are without knowledge of the proprietary body and other particulars" (17).

All the latter writers including Symes Scutt repeat the same information and have nothing to add (18). Even in the Book on the early European Banks no mention is made of the Carnatic Bank which undoubtedly must be considered as one of the earliest of the European Banks conducting business in this country. It is indeed a wonder why these writers did not refer to any published records on the Madras Presidency dealing with the history of the Province in the last years of the eighteenth Century. It is an unpardonable error to style a book as dealing with the early European Banks while only the European Banks in Calcutta are taken into account. A large number of banks doing business in other provinces are not even mentioned. There is no description of this Bank's work in the Madras Presidency in the recently published work of Dr. Banerjee on "Indian Finance in the days of John Company" (19).

(15) See J. MacGregor, *Commercial Tariffs*, Part XXIII, p. 661. See also the pamphlet. "The late Government Bank of Bombay," 1868. This does not however mention any details as regards the note-issue of the Bank of Bombay (1840-1868). It is in reality a history of the Bank of Bombay from 1863 to 1868. Something more can be actually written from a thorough study of the evidence of the witnesses before the Sir C. Jackson Committee. See also C. N. Cooke, *Banking in India*, p. 175. See also Symes Scutt—*History of the Bank of Bengal*.

(16) See the *Military Consultations*, 17th April, 1782, p. 1064. Quoted by H. Dodwell in the *Records of Madras*.

(17) See C. N. Cooke, *Banking in India*, p. 302.

(18) Symes Scutt, *History of the Bank of Bengal*.

(19) Dr. Banerjee says, "In the Madras Presidency an institution bearing the name of the Carnatic Bank existed in 1791, but very little is known about its activities." See his article on *Banking in the Days of John Company*. November, *Calcutta Review*, p. 137. Nothing further is stated in the bigger book of his dealing with the finances of this country in the days of John Company.

THE HISTORY OF THE CARNATIC BANK.

A scrutiny of the State Records of 1788 has enabled the industrious writer Mr. H. D. Love to point out that this was the first joint-stock bank in Madras founded under the title of the Carnatic Bank during the tenure of the Governorship of Sir Archibald Campbell (20). The founders of the Carnatic Bank were Josias Du Pre Porcher of Fort Sarint George and Thomas Redhead of Calcutta, John Balfour, John Chamier, Edward Raphael, Thomas Cockburn, Benjamin Torn and N. E. Kendersley who was a member of the Board of Trade also. The object was to receive money, issue bills and notes and discount bills and notes and other securities "after the manner of the most respectable bank in London." Its capital was 120,000 Star Pagodas divided into eight shares held by the above-mentioned founders. Power was taken to appoint a cashier, clerks, servants and to issue notes to the value of three times the capital and the Bank began issuing its notes in 1788 (21).

On 22nd December, 1790 we find the Carnatic Bank issuing a notice in the Fort Saint George Gazette that no business will be transacted at the Bank either on Xmas or New Year Day. Mr. John Hunter who subsequently became the director of the British Bank was the then Cashier who signed the notification. Evidently in the absence of a negotiable Instruments Act fixing the number of Banks Holidays the banks had to issue general notifications indicating the bank holidays. A similar list of bank holidays at the Bank of Bengal was published by the latter institution in 1837. The list was the same as that allowed by the Moffusil Courts of the East India Company in the Province of Bengal, or the Treasury and the Sudder Dewany Adawlut (22).

The List of Holidays.

CHRISTIAN.	HINDOO.	MAHOMADAN.
N. Year's Day.	Mucker Sankratri.	Shubrath.
Good Friday.	Sree Punchamy.	Eed.
Xmas.	Seeboo Ratree.	Buekred.
Sundays.	Dole Jatra.	Muharam.
	Barome.	Akharee Chursunk.
	Sree Ram Navami.	Bawray Buffa.
	Churuk Pujah.	
	Dhuserah.	
	Seenain Jatrah.	
	Ruth Jatrah.	
	Ooltah Ruth Jatrah.	
	Deotan.	

The closing of the Bank of Bengal at 2 p.m. on Saturdays, commenced from 1863. See Symes Scutt. *History of the Bank of Bengal*, p. 67.

(20) See P. Miss, Vol., II, 11th August, 1791, for greater details.

(21) See P. C. Vol., C. L. 11th August, 1788, for greater details which are not however of great importance.

(22) See the *Asiatic Journal*, July 1838, p. 151, January, 1838, p. 7.

Messrs. Porcher and Redhead were the original proprietors of the scheme and were also the directors of the Bank of Hindostan doing business at Calcutta. They not only gradually (23) secured the shares which the other proprietors wished to dispose of but Porcher was appointed as a permanent director and two other directors were chosen to help him. Thus he can be considered as the first managing director of an Indian Bank. This system still persists in this country in spite of its apparent defects.

It was at the suggestion of Mr. Porcher that the Carnatic Bank approached the Madras Government with the request to support it in its endeavour to give the rupee a more easy and extensive currency at the established rate of exchange. Its letter says that "hitherto we have been able to receive that coin at the bank but if the Government will be pleased to authorise the receipt of our notes at the Treasury to any limited extent they think proper we will make arrangements for the receipt of rupees and issue notes accordingly. There cannot be any risk out of this step (I. E.) granting this indulgence to say one lac fifty thousand pagodas and the great object of fixing the currency of this rupee will be considerably forwarded by it and a great convenience would naturally result both to the Government and individual who find it difficult to receive or pay away a large sum than one lac of rupees in course of the morning and the shroffing of which the expense is considerable will be saved to individuals" (24).

But the Madras Government refused to grant any concessions and this must have been the result of the Court of Directors' order dated 10th January, 1787, enjoining on the local authorities in India not to have any dealings with private banks nor encourage them in any way (25). The Court of Directors also held the opinion that the Agency Houses and the indigenous bankers were better fitted to meet the banking needs of the

(23) In 1791 Balfour and Raphael sold their shares to John De Rries Junior and Porcher and Redhead respectively.

(24) This letter to the Government from which the above extract is taken was signed by the following directors of the Bank, Jos Du Pre Porcher, Thomas Cockburn, John D'ries Junior, Jos DuPre Porcher for J. Chamier and Thomas Redhead Esq., Porcher Redhead for J. Chamier and Thomas Readhead Esq., Porcher Redhead & Co., for Messrs. Torn and Kindersley. For the copy of the original letter, see P. C. Vol., CLXX, 8th July, 1791.

(25) This order was not directly carried out by the Bengal Government which actually decided to loan five lakhs of sicca Rs. to the Bengal Bank and one and half lakhs of sicca Rs. to the Hindostan Bank in 1791 on the deposit of Company's paper to the amount required (25 per cent. in addition thereto in the case of the Bengal Bank was also insisted upon). The Bengal Bank could not take advantage of this liberal offer. The Hindostan Bank paid off the loan within the stipulated period of two months and soon regained its position in the money market. References to this bank can be met with in 1799 as well as 1807. The Bank of Hindustan acted as the Agent of the Calcutta Exchange Lottery and sold its tickets in 1799. (See Symes Scutt-History of the Bank of Bengal). Again in 1807 we find the Government of Bengal making use of this Bank for inviting tenders for constructing a masoleum over the grave of Lord Cornwallis at Ghazipore.

The Bengal Government easily justified its help on the ground that if the Banks were to fail the value of Government paper would be adversely affected, that Government contractors would fail and the faith of the holders of the Government securities would be easily shaken and undesirable political complications might result out of this step.

community than the European banks. In the then circumstances of the Indian society the utility of banking institutions was doubtful. Hence it forbade any connection whatsoever with the private bankers. As a result of such explicit instructions the Madras Government refused to employ the agency of the private bank in money negotiations and encourage it in its attempts to extend the popularity of the rupee though reciprocal convenience could have resulted out of this step.

The Carnatic Bank however continued its business and in 1798 it was appointed along with the British Bank to receive the deposit of lottery money. When it ceased to exist is difficult to ascertain for the chroniclers of this period have failed to provide us with any authentic record. Evidently it might have failed immediately after 1808 when Lord William Bentinck's Government Bank started its business in right earnest. The actual rivalry of the three existing banks the Carnatic Bank, the British Bank and the Asiatic Bank led to the necessity of creating a trustworthy bank.

The British Bank mentioned in the above para was a contemporary institution conducting business in Madras at about this time. No writer on banking has even mentioned the name of this bank. The directors of the British Bank were George Westcott, Thomas Lorimer, Robert Woolf, Francis Lantone and John Hunter. The last-named individual acted as the cashier of the Carnatic Bank and we find that it was in existence by 1795. In 1798 it was appointed along with the Carnatic Bank to receive the deposit of lottery money. Another mention of the British Bank can be traced in the Government records when the value of its building was estimated at about 7,500 star pagodas. There was also in existence another bank known as the Asiatic Bank conducting business in 1805. The keen rivalry which existed among the three banks made the general public dissatisfied with their business and Lord William Bentinck organised his plan of the Government Bank in those days when private credit failed to create the needed banking machinery.

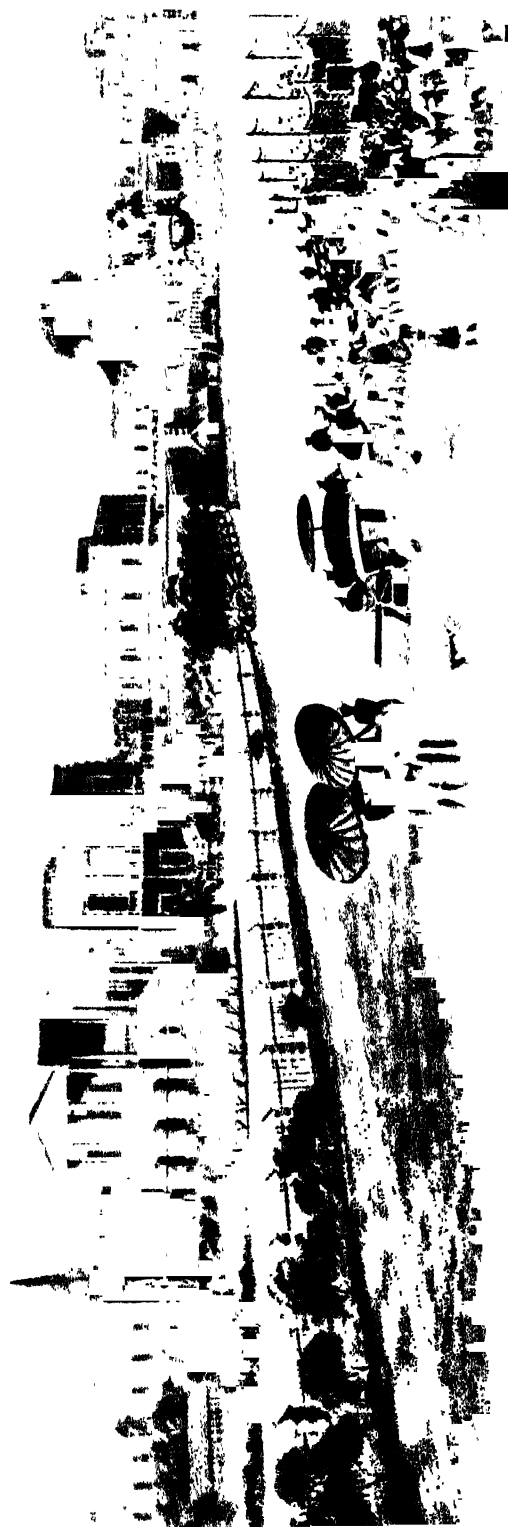
B. RAMCHANDRA RAU.

(To be Continued.)

The Editor's Note Book.

THE opening of King George's Dock by His Excellency Lord Irwin on December 28, 1928, is an event which demands commemoration in these chronicle of *Bengal: Past and Present*. Apart from the importance of the work itself, it foreshadows the ultimate disappearance of the jetties which lie along the Strand Road, and the removal of the entire commercial activity of the Port of Calcutta to Kidderpore and Garden Reach. There are some changes in Calcutta such as the transformation of Chowringhee and Park Street, which the lover of the past may regret: but this is one which he can surely approve, for it will provide the magnificent river front which is Calcutta's due. It is true that it has entailed the extinction of Garden Reach as a residential area; but this process began seventy years ago, when the Ex-King of Oudh established himself on the river front, and the memories are almost dead of the days when a succession of garden houses met the eye as the vessel approached her moorings off Chandpal Ghat. An additional enterprise is, we understand, in contemplation by which in the course of a few years passengers by sea will disembark at Diamond Harbour and find there a great railway terminus, from which trains will carry them to every part of India. They will miss the view of Calcutta which has been a theme upon which every visitor for the last hundred years has exhausted his vocabulary of appreciative epithets. But the Port of Calcutta like that of London, must move with the times; and exactly the same arrangements are being made at Tilbury for the homeward bound. Some idea of the magnitude of the operations involved in the new Dock may be gathered from the fact that it marks the completion of a scheme which covers nearly four square miles of land and which may fairly claim to equal any dock engineering work in the world, while it certainly excels in the difficulty of its accomplishment.

THE "View at the Back of Government House," which we reproduce on the opposite page, is taken from a water-colour sketch by James Hunter in the collection at the Victoria Memorial Hall. The Government House in question is not, of course, the present building. It was a house on the Esplanade, on the site of the compound of the present Government House, and was also known as Buckingham House. Warren Hastings used it as his official residence: and it is the house mentioned in the advertisement in the *Calcutta Gazette* of September 6, 1787, with regard to a bureau which was "about the time of Mr. Hastings' departure from Bengal either stolen from his house on the Esplanade or by mistake sold at the auction of his effects."



VIEW AT BACK OF GOVERNMENT HOUSE, 1891.

JAMES HUNTER

From the Water colour in the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection.
(Photographed by Mr. Harrington.)

The ground plan, says Lord Curzon ("British Government in India," Vol. I, p. 13), shows that the building covered three sides of a quadrangle. Its external appearance was that of a large two-storeyed mansion, with an arched verandah on the ground floor to the south, and a closed verandah above. From either side two long one-storeyed wings projected towards the Esplanade: these enclosed between them a courtyard of fair size which was shut off from the Maidan by a low wall with pillars and railings upon it and pierced by two tall pillared gateways. This description tallies with the view of "Old Government House" which forms part of Thomas Daniell's Twelve Views of Calcutta, (1786-88): and also with the view by William Baillie (1794). In the latter is included the Council House, which adjoined on the west. Between the two houses was a garden thickly planted with trees.

THE date 1801 which appears on Hunter's sketch cannot be correct; for Buckingham House was pulled down in 1798 to make way for Wellesley's palatial structure. Unless the lion in the cage, which dominates the foreground, attained a patriarchal age, the period must be between 1785 and 1790. For, on December 8, 1780, we find Hastings writing to his wife who was then staying at Chinsurah: "I have migrated to my own house," by which he means Buckingham House, "but the Lyon roars so noisily that suspecting that he might disturb my Rest, I have returned to *our* Bed for the Night," that is to say, he had gone over to Mrs Hastings' house, now known as No. 7, Hastings Street. The "Lyon," says Sydney Grier, had been brought down in August from the upper provinces by Samuel Touchet: and there is another reference to it in the postscript to a letter written by Hastings on August 17, 1780, to his wife at Chinsurah: "Did I tell you that I had a letter from Scott who mentions passing young Touchet, my Lion, and Zebra, all in perfect Health." Scott who was afterwards better known as Major John Scott Waring, had been acting as aide-de-camp to Hastings and was on his way back to rejoin his battalion of Sepoys at Chunar. Samuel Touchet and his elder brother Peter were the brothers of Mrs. Hastings' friend, Mrs. Motte. William Hickey records (Vol. II, p. 248) that when he was in London in the summer of 1780, he met at the house of Mrs. Touchet, the mother, "two fine lads, Westminster, named Imhoff, being sons of Mrs. Hastings by her former husband." The lion was probably a present to the Governor-General from the menagerie of the Nawab of Oudh. James Augustus Hicky alludes to "the Lyon in the G—'s compound at Buckingham House" in one of his paragraphs in the *Bengal Gazette* during the same year.

THERE was no ceremonial laying of the foundation stone of the present Government House, owing to the departure of Lord Wellesley for

The Present Government House.

Madras in connexion with the Mysore campaign. But the first brick was laid on February 5, 1799, by "one of the supervisors," Mr. Timothy Hickey, of the Engineer Department. An official breakfast was given in the building on August 9, 1802, when the Governor-General "entertained in the New Government House" Major General David Baird, whom he had sent to the Red Sea in command of a force to take part in the campaign against Napoleon in Egypt. A levee was also held on September 22 in the same year to celebrate the Proclamation of Peace with the French Republic. But it was not until January 18, 1803, that the House was reported to be complete; and a State procession to St. John's Church took place on the next day, in honour of the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens. This was followed a week later by a great Fête, of which a full account is given by Lord Valentia in his Travels.

MAJOR HODSON sends us a curious extract from the *Friend of India*, the forerunner of the *Statesman*, which is quoted in *Allen's Indian Mail* for October 17, 1854. "Warren Hastings is now a historical character, yet there is a lady alive who saw him after his duel with Francis, and the grandson of his second wife has just died at Kurrachee." The allusion to Mrs. Hannah Ellerton, who died in Calcutta on January 21, 1858, need not detain us: her history has already been discussed in these notes. But it is not so easy to unravel the mystery of Mrs. Hastings' grandson. *The Sind Kossid*, which announces his death is reported to have described him as "a hopeless vagabond 'who' wandered all over the north-west and at last died at Kurrachee where his father's will came into the possession of Captain Ashburner." The "father" must have been Julius Imhoff, the younger of Mrs. Hastings' sons, who obtained a Bengal writership in 1790, through the influence of his step-father and died, when Collector of Midnapore, at Calcutta on September 23, 1799. It is known that he left three illegitimate sons. Charles was drowned with his nurse in a well at his father's house in Alipore in 1802: and William died in 1824 or 1825, before the arrival of the letters of legitimation which were applied for in order to regularize the succession to Julius Imhoff's property. There remains John, who is stated to have been "of very dark complexion:" but Miss Gregg, ("Sydney Grier") in her letters of Warren Hastings to His wife (p. 42) states that he married Maria Chambers in 1826 and was murdered in his father's house at Alipore, leaving no issue. Miss Gregg adds that Julius Imhoff and his three sons are buried in a vault between Hastings House and the Judges Court. Mr. J. J. Cotton, writing on the same subject in *Bengal: Past and Present* (Vol. XXX, p. 16) puts the date of John Fitz-Julius Imhoff's death between the years 1848 and 1854, which tallies with our quotation: but makes no mention of the murder. We cannot carry the matter further.

IN a letter of October 3, 1799 from John White which George Nesbitt Thompson sent on to Warren Hastings on April 23, 1800, and which was printed in Vol. VIII of *Bengal: Past and Present* (p. 25), the following account is given of the death of Julius Imhoff:

It grieves me to inform you of the death of poor Julius Imhoff during the past week. He was a worthy honest fellow, greatly esteemed, and is greatly regretted. He has fallen a sacrifice to his sense of duty, in remaining at Midnapore where his active and zealous services were conspicuously employed in quelling insurrections and quieting a long neglected district when his own personal suffering from long and severe indisposition required change of situation altogether. His illness commenced in January last when he was in the employment of Collector, and as he had no assistant to leave in charge of his office, he continued to carry on the duties thereof. In April the inactivity and negligence of the Magistrate, [Robert] Gregory, induced Government to recall him, and as Imhoff's conduct was of different, nay opposite, stamp, he was appointed to act judicially, and magisterially, which in spite of ill-health and in defiance of foreboded consequences, he persevered in till he was ultimately compelled to quit the place. Alas! it was then too late. The most experienced medical men pronounced so when they saw him and a few days verified their declarations.

White was a writer of 1778 and was at the time second judge of the provincial court of appeal and circuit at the Presidency. He had endeavoured in vain to hold sessions at Midnapore in March 1799, owing to the disturbed condition of the district.

ON April 14, 1797, Joseph Farington noted in his Diary that "Mr. Hastings gave 1,000 guineas to Kettle for a picture of a Nabob which was sold at Christie's on Monday for 7 guineas." Who was the Nabob? A clue may, we think, be found in a letter written by Hastings from Daylesford on April 16, 1797, to Richard Johnson, the banker-nephew of Sir Joshua Reynolds, immediately after the sale of various pictures at his house at 1, Park Lane. "Few things," wrote Hastings, "have given me so much vexation as the disgraceful sale of my pictures; I would rather have burnt them." He was "particularly vexed at the mean price at which the portrait of Shuja-ud-daulla was sold, because I never intended to part with it and do not know how it came to be joined with the rest." It was evidently a large picture, as he had it in mind to "cut it down to kitcat;" and it is equally clear that he attached special value to it, for he asks Johnson to endeavour to repurchase it for him. "The rest," of the collection included eleven Indian

Warren Hastings' Pictures.

views by Hodges of Calcutta, Benares, Agra, Lucknow, "Baugulpoor," the Teliagarhi pass ("Tilliagurry"), Chunar Ghur, the "Jungleterry," Rajmahal and Gwalior. These were offered separately and realized £125. One of them, a "View of Benares in 1781," was recovered for the India Office in October, 1904; and some of the others must have found their way back to Daylesford. Mr. C. E. Baring Young, the late owner of the house, who died in September 1928, informed the present writer in 1926 that, while several Indian landscapes had been sold in 1853 at the death of Sir Charles Imhoff, there were still at Daylesford two large paintings of Benares and one of "Government House as seen from Fort William." The portrait of Shuja-ud-daula was not named.

MR. J. D. MILNER, the late keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, makes mention, in his monograph on Tilly Kettle, of seven portraits painted by that artist of Shuja-ud-daula (Nawab Wazir of Oudh from 1753 to 1775) but seems to have overlooked the one which Warren Hastings undoubtedly owned. The first is in the Musée at Versailles and allusions to this and three others are to be found in the *Mémoires* of Colonel Gentil. Another was painted for Sir Robert Barker who concluded a treaty with the Nawab at Fyzabad in 1772: it was fully described in *Bengal: Past and Present* in 1926 (Vol. XXXII, p. 147). There is a coloured aquatint by P. Renault (1796) of a sixth, with a Minister of State and nine sons, at the Victoria Memorial Hall: but nothing is known of the original. The seventh is a full length (90 inches by 56 inches) at Government House, Madras. It was discovered in 1842 by Lord Elphinstone in a lumber room with two smaller pictures which have been identified as portraits of Walajah, the famous Nawab of the Carnatic, and his second son. The supposition is that all three were presented by Sir Robert Barker who served with distinction in Madras. But why should not the large canvas be the picture which Hastings intended to "cut down to kitcat?" It does not appear that he ever recovered possession."

RICHARD JOHNSON, is now remembered as the owner of the collection of Oriental paintings which are now at the India Office and which were bought by the Court of Directors in 1807. Although he was in the Company's service on the Bengal establishment and was at one time Resident at Lucknow, he was also engaged in private business at Calcutta. The announcement is made in the *India Gazette* of September 19, 1785 that "Messrs. Charles Croftes and Richard Johnson having determined upon closing their joint concerns and dissolving the firm of Croftes and Johnson on the 1st day of October next ensuing, they deem it necessary to give this publick notice thereof: " and " they further give

notice that on the day abovementioned the House upon the Esplanade, their joint property, hitherto occupied by them, will be sold at Publick Outcry." Johnson subsequently sat in the House of Commons: for the *Bombay Courier* of August 23, 1794, reports that "Colonel Mark Wood, late of Bengal, has been elected member of Parliament for Milborne Port, in the room of R. Johnson, Esqr., who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds." He had on his return to England joined the London and Middlesex Bank which had its offices in Stratford Place, Oxford Street. The establishment of the Bank is recorded in the *Madras Courier* of May 2, 1793, the partners being Gerard Noel Edwards, M.P., Samuel Smith, M.P., George Templer, M.P., Nathaniel Middleton (the "Memory Middleton" of the Hastings' trial), John Wedgwood, and Johnson. Hastings banked with them; and there are a number of letters from him to Johnson in the Hastings MSS. at the British Museum. Johnson's name disappears from the firm in 1807: and the *Gentleman's Magazine* announces his death at BRIGHTHELMSTONE (Brighton) on August 19 of that year. He had fallen into financial difficulties in which he involved at least one of his partners—Templer.

MR. RAMSBOTHAM, in the account of Colonel John Macdonald's proposals for the establishment of an improved system of telegraphic communication which appeared in the last issue (Vol. XXXVII, p. 59) refers to the opposition which Col. Macdonald encountered from Mr. Joseph Cotton who was a member of the Court of Directors from 1795 to 1823. There is an interesting allusion to Mr. Cotton in one of Warren Hastings' letters to Edward Babar (*Notes and Queries*, January 28, 1928, at p. 55). Hastings writes from Daylesford House on October 6, 1808; to inform Babar of the approaching visit of George Vansittart and his wife and children;

"Mrs. Van's" Retentive Memory.

They made us a short visit last month, in which I was much gratified to find that Mrs. Van's bodily debility had detracted nothing from her mental faculties, and least of all from her powers of social entertainment. A wonderful instance she afforded me of her strength of retentive memory by repeating to me a poem of Dr. Cotton's consisting of 130 lines, with very few pauses of recollection, and she afterwards had the goodness to write them out for me. The occasion was what could not have been expected. I had been telling her of my having lately at a public dinner sat next to Mr. Cotton, the Director, and found him a man whose acquaintance I should like to cultivate. She told me that he was the son of Dr. Cotton whom she had known: and this led to the repetition of that poem for which it was impossible for her to have been prepared.

Dr. Nathaniel Cotton (1707-1788) kept a private mental hospital at St. Albans where the poet Cowper was his patient. His volume of *Visions*

in Verse enjoyed much contemporary popularity and was repeatedly printed: and he also wrote some poems in Dodsley's collection and a treatise on epidemic scarlet fever. Joseph Cotton (1745-1825) who was his sixth son, entered the Marine Service of the East India Company from the Royal Navy in 1769, and commanded the *Royal Charlotte* Indiaman from 1776 to 1782.

STUDENTS of Hickey's Memoirs will remember the allusions in the first volume to John Durand, the owner of the *Plassey* Indiaman. We are told that he had made a fortune in India "in the country trade:" a statement which seems to identify him with the "country captain" of the same name whose affairs form the subject of a letter sent by the Directors in March 1757 to the Council at Fort William. Holwell had proposed to give Durand twenty-four hours' notice to leave for England "although he had large business concerns in Bengal," and the Directors write:

A Troublesome
"Country Captain."

We cannot aviod taking notice of the insolent behaviour of Captain Durand as tending to such a contempt of our authority as ought never to be borne. Your denying him therefore the Company's protection was a very proper measure more especially as we know of no license he has ever had to reside in any place in India. . . If Captain Durand continues to misbehave you have our direction for sending him to England immediately, as you are likewise any other person or persons who shall be guilty of any kind of insolent behaviour and contempt of our authority.

Similar directions were given in the case of Dumbleton, an attorney, who was, as it happens, one of the victims of the Black Hole tragedy in June 1757. Another case, which is discussed in the Bengal Consultations of January 6, 1758, was that of one Douglas: and in December 1759, the Council deal with a pilot of the name of Towle: "being of a troublesome refractory behaviour we ordered him to return to Europe by one of the first ships of the season." The later career of Durand shows that he made his peace with the Directors. He not only became a "ship's husband" on a large scale and supplied many Indiamen on charter; but he sat in the House of Commons as member for Seaford from 1780 to 1784, and held East India stock to the value of £8,000.

SIR HENRY RUSSELL has many claims to remembrance in Calcutta. He has given his name to Russell Street: he was the uncle of Rose Aylmer who died at his house in that Street; and he was the friend and patron of William Hickey who alludes frequently to him in his Memoirs. But he was also the only Chief Justice of Bengal after whom a ship built at Calcutta was called.

The "Russell"
and its Godfather.

On Tuesday last (January 17, 1809), a magnificent merchant vessel named the *Russell*, of 990 tons burthen was launched from Mr.

Smith's dockyard amid the acclamations of a multitude of spectators. The Lord Chief Justice honoured the ceremony with his presence and performed the office of naming the ship. A large portion of the Company afterwards partook of a cold collation in the Builder's principal store-room; where various healths were drank in honour of the occasion, accompanied by appropriate tunes from a large and excellent band.

Such is the record preserved in the *Calcutta Monthly Journal*. Sir Henry Russell evidently appreciated the compliment which had been paid to him; for on Friday, March 3, he gave "an entertainment on board the new ship *Russell*," and was received with a salute of 17 guns on his arrival about the hour of 2 p.m. The *Russell* made her maiden voyage to Canton, and sailed with a number of other ships, under convoy of H. M. S. *Victor* on May 7.

IN the same volume of the *Calcutta Monthly Journal* (March, 1809, at p. 342) we have come across an "amusing specimen of the sumptuary regulations of Government in the time of Mr. Verelst." "Primitive Manners." It is "so much in favour of the simplicity of primitive manners in India, and holds out so useful a lesson to modern times" that, writes the editor, "we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of introducing it to the acquaintance of our readers." These are assured that "we have seen the original and have no doubt of its authenticity." The document is as follows:

To all the Gentlemen Writers in the Company's Service.

Gentlemen,

I am directed by the Hon'ble the President and Council to acquaint you that the undermentioned extracts from the proceedings of the Committee of Inspection are entirely approved by them and that they expect an implicit obedience to be paid to the Directions therein contained.

Fort William, the 9th Nov. 1767.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your Most Obedient Servant,
SIMEON DROZ, *Secretary*.

- 1st. With respect to the Servants necessary to be kept by a Writer without a Family, the Committee are of opinion that they should be allowed two, and a Cook; one for the immediate care of His House and charge of his effects, and another to attend him when he goes out, or to assist in the charge of his House and effects in case of the sickness of the other.
- 2nd. It is recommended that an order be issued that no Writer shall be allowed to keep a Horse without the express permission of the Governor, or be permitted, either of himself or jointly with others to keep a Garden House.

3rd. It is further recommended, that the Writers be enjoined to wear no other than Plain Cloaths.

A LITTLE later on in the volume (at p. 445) we find the following General Order by the Governor-General, dated April 5, 1809, which reads as

The Walk on the River Bank.

strangely to us in 1929, as the sumptuary regulation of 1767 to the Calcutta residents of 1809:

His Lordship is pleased to direct that no persons in carriages or on Horse back be permitted to drive or ride on the walk along the Banks of the River between Chandpaul Ghaut and the Sluice Gate of Fort William, or to enter within that part of the Esplanade recently railed into the Northward of the Fort fronting the Court House.

The reference is to the path along the river bank which can be seen so plainly in the "View taken on the Esplanade" in 1792 which was published in the second series of Daniell's "Oriental Scenery." This path was planted with trees in the time of the Lottery Committee (1817-1836) and came to be known as the Respondentia walk. In a note to Sir Charles D'Oyly's poem, "Tom Raw, Griffin" (published in 1828) we read that it was "a walk from Chandpaul Ghaut to the Fort by the River's side with an avenue of trees; children and their attendants and people fond of walking are the only pedestrians." As late as 1864, a row of fine trees stood south of Baboo Ghat, but most of these were destroyed in the cyclone of that year. "The part of the Esplanade recently railed in" to the northward of the Fort, has now become the Eden Gardens; but these date from 1840 and went by the awkward name of Auckland Circus Gardens until 1854.

IN the month of May 1809 there arrived at Calcutta an interesting Lady, "a princess of New Zealand, one of the daughters of Tippahee," who was accompanied by her husband, an Englishman of the name of George Bruce. A long account of the adventures of this couple is printed in the *Mirror*, of May 10, from which it appears that Bruce who was Londoner and born in Limehouse, entered in 1780 as a boatswain's boy on board the *Royal Admiral* Indiaman and sailed in her to New South Wales. At Port Jackson (Sydney) he left the ship and was employed in survey vessels for some years. His connexion with New Zealand began when Tippahee, King of New Zealand who had paid a visit to Port Jackson, was conveyed home in the *Lady Nelson*. The King fell ill during the voyage and Bruce was appointed to look after him; with the result that Tippahee took him into his family and recognized him as a New Zealand warrior of the first rank, but in order to obtain these honours, he was obliged to submit to a wholesale process of "tattooing." Several ships touched at the Bay of Islands for supplies, and, we are told, found Bruce acting as Governor of

A "Princess of New Zealand" and her husband in Calcutta.

what is now known as North Island. Captain Dalrymple of the ship *General Wellesley* was not content with his spectacle; he enticed him and his wife on board and carried them off to Malacca, by way of the "Feegee or Sandalwood Islands." Here Bruce was landed without his wife and it was with considerable trouble that he recovered her at Penang, with the help of the Governor. From Penang, the couple found their way to Bengal in the *Sir Edward Pellew* where they "have been most hospitably received" and where opportunities of a passage to New South Wales will probably occur in the course of a few months." The countenance of Bruce, says the account in the *Mirror*, "presents a master specimen of the art of tattowing;" as for the princess, "all the softer charms of nature, all the sweetness of original and 'the native beauty' of the princess is likewise stated to be expression are lost in the bolder impressions" of the same process.

THE death on March 25 last of Mr. R. W. Lodwick, in his 99th year, has reduced the number of surviving members of the Hon'ble East India Company's Civil Servants to one. Mr. Lodwick entered the Bombay Civil Service from Haileybury in 1851, and retired on pension in 1877. His active service of 26 years was followed therefore by a period of 52 years on pension. In itself, this must constitute almost a record; but the connexion of the family with India can be dated back to 1799 when his father General Peter Lodwick of the Bombay Army, who died on August 28, 1873, at the age of ninety, joined the Company's service. The solitary survivor of the famous band of "Haileybury men" is now Mr. William McQuhae who was born on April 22, 1838, and at the moment of writing has celebrated his ninety-first birthday. He entered the Madras Civil Service in 1857, and has drawn a pension since 1879. Four of his colleagues have died since October 1927: Mr. G. F. Sheppard (Bombay), Mr. W. H. Henderson (Bengal), Sir Philip Hutchins (Madras), and Mr. Lodwick. Major-General A. H. E. Campbell, of the 2nd Madras Light Cavalry, who died on April 22, 1929, in his ninety-fourth year, might have been added to the list, for he went to Haileybury in 1853: but he exchanged his nomination as a Madras writer for a military cadetship.

THE East India College at Haileybury was closed on December 7, 1857, after a life of just over half a century. The sister institution at Addiscombe, at which the Company's military cadets were educated, was established in 1809 and ended its career in 1861. Lieut-Col. E. H. Ryan, of the Bengal Artillery who died on February 22 at the age of ninety-one, and who went to Addiscombe in 1855, must be one of the last (if he was not actually the last) of the 3,500 cadets who received their training there. Colonel E. W. Smyth, C.B., who died on New Year's Day at the age of 85, was one of the final batch who passed out in 1861.

The last of the
"Haileybury Men."

Addiscombe Vete-
rans.

ON April 4 last, the death was recorded in *The Times* of Major F. A. Cubitt, of the 5th (Northumberland) Fusiliers, at the age of ninety-four. He was one of the very few remaining survivors of the force which effected the final relief of Lucknow Residency and capture of Lucknow in November 1857. When Sir Colin Campbell evacuated the Residency and withdrew to Cawnpore with the main body, he left Sir James Outram at the Alum Bagh with a force of 3,500 men and 25 guns. Cubitt and his regiment formed part of this force, which beat off six attacks before Campbell returned in March 1858 and captured the city.

MEMORIES of another Mutiny episode. The defence of the "Little House at Arrah"—are recalled by the death on May 7 at the age of ninety-two of Lieut.-Col. Montague Battye who was a subaltern in the 10th Foot at Dinapore at that time. He was sent with a detachment of the regiment on the unsuccessful attempt to relieve the little garrison, during which Ross Mangles and Fraser MacDonell, two young members of the Civil Service, won the Victoria Cross. The relief was finally effected by Vincent Eyre.

MEMBERS of the Calcutta Historical Society will be glad to know that a tablet in memory of Mr. J. J. Cotton, I.C.S., has been placed by his friends in the Civil Service most fittingly, in the historic Church of St. Mary, in Fort Saint George. It records that, "following his father, grandfather and great-grandfather in the service of the Crown in India," he joined the Indian Civil Service at Madras in 1893 and died at that place on June 20, 1927, at the age of fifty-seven.
